National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIII. NO. 30. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1862. WHOLE NO. 1,174.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY, ON SATURDAY,

AT TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At its Office, No. 48 Beekman Street, New York,

AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

106 *North-Tenth Street, Philadelphia.*

Letters for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business affairs of the paper, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, NEW YORK."

ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Selections.

THE CONDITIONS OF LASTING PEACE.

LETTER FROM ROBERT DALE OWEN TO SECRETARY CHASE.

To the Hon. SALMON P. CHASE, *Secretary of the Treasury.*

SIR: In briefest terms I state the propositions which, as the subject of our recent conversation, I promised to reduce to writing.

What are the reasonable hopes of peace?

Not, that within the next fifty days the South, availing herself of the term of grace offered in the President's proclamation, may, to save her favorite institution, return to her allegiance. Let us not deceive ourselves. There are *no* conditions, *no* guaranties—no, not if we proffer her a blank sheet on which to set them down, with unrestricted pen, in her own hand—under which she will consent to reunion, except in one contingency—conquest, more or less complete, by force of arms.

Are we likely to obtain peace by conquest?

In search of an answer, let us look closely at a few statistical facts.

By the census of 1860 the number of white males between the ages of 18 and 45 is, in the loyal States, about four million; and, in the disloyal States, about one million three hundred thousand; a little upwards of three to one. The disproportion seems overwhelmingly great.

But this calculation, as a basis of military strength, is wholly fallacious; for it includes persons of one color only.

Out of the above four million the North has to provide soldiers and (with inconsiderable exceptions, not usually extending to field-labor) laborers also.

But of the three million and a half of slaves owned in the rebel States about two million may be estimated as laborers. Allow three hundred thousand of these as employed in domestic services and other occupations followed by women among us, and we have seventeen hundred thousand plantation hands, male and female, each one of which counts against a Northern laborer on farm or in work-shop.

Then, of that portion of population whence soldiers and out-door laborers and mechanics must chiefly be taken, the Northern States have four million and the Southern States three million.

Supposing the negroes all loyal to their masters, it follows that the true proportion of strength available in this war—that is, of soldiers to fight and laborers to support the nation while fighting—may fairly enough be taken at three in the South to four in the North.

Under this supposition of a South united, without regard to color, in an effort for recognition, shall we obtain peace by subduing her? If history teach truth, we shall not. Never, since the world began, did nine million of people band together, resolutely inspired by the one idea of achieving their independence, yet fail to obtain it. It is not a century since one-third of the number successfully defied Great Britain.

But let us suppose the negroes of the South loyal to the Union instead of their masters, how stands the matter then?

In that case, it is not to a united people, but to a Confederacy divided against itself, that we are opposed; the masters on one side; the laborers, exceeding them in number, on the other.

Suppose the services of these laborers transferred to us, what will then be the proportion, on either side, of forces available, directly and indirectly, for military purposes?

As about five and three-fourths to one and a-third; in other words, nearly *as nine to two.*

Such a wholesale transfer is, of course, impossible in practice. But in so far as the transfer *is* possible, and shall occur, we approach the above results.

How much wisdom, under these circumstances, is there in the advice that we should put down the rebellion first and settle the negro question afterwards? What shall we say of their statesmanship who, in a war like this, would leave out of view the practical effects of emancipation?

On the other hand, however, it is to be admitted that African loyalty in this war will little avail us, if we have not good sense and good feeling enough properly to govern the negroes who may enter our lines.

To render their aid available, in the first place we must treat them humanely; a duty we have yet to learn: and secondly, both for their sakes and for our own, we must not support them in idleness. Doubtless, they are most efficient as laborers, as domestics in camp, as teamsters, or employed on entrenchments and fortifications, or in ambulance corps, or as sappers and miners; or, as fast as Southern plantations shall fall into our possession, as field-hands. But if all these posts become over filled, better do away with the necessity for further draft in the North by putting muskets in the hands of able-bodied men, colored differently from ourselves, than to delude their ignorance into the opinion that among the privileges of freedom is food without work.

Have we philanthropy and discretion enough wisely to administer such a change of system? Possibly not. Administrative capacity in public affairs is not our strong point. We would do well to bear in mind, however, that without such capacity not this war only, but our entire governmental experiment, will prove a failure at last.

Do other objections hold against the plan? Does humanity forbid us to accept the aid of an enslaved race? In so far as humanity can ever enjoin war at all, she *enjoins* the employment, by us, of the African in this; first, because his employment may shorten, by years, the fratricidal struggle; and then, because, if he is not permitted to assist in civilized warfare under us, and if, without his aid, we fail to effect his liberation and thus disappoint his hopes, he may be overtaken by the temptation to seek freedom and revenge in his own wild way. In accepting the liberated slave as a soldier we may prevent his rising as an assassin. By the creation of negro brigades we may avert the indiscriminate massacres of servile insurrection.

Or is there an insuperable difficulty of caste in the way? In a contest likely to eventuate in securing to another race than ours the greatest of temporal blessings, are we determined to shut out that race from all share in its own liberation? Are we so enamored of the Moloch, War, that we will suffer none but *our* sons to pass through the fire? Terrible penalty to pay, with life and death at stake, for a national prejudice against the Southern Pariah!

As to the duty of our rulers in the premises, I cannot see according to what principle of ethics a government, charged with the lives of millions, the putting down of a gigantic rebellion and the restoring of tranquillity to the land, has the right, in the hour of its utmost need, to scorn a vast element of strength placed within its reach and at its disposal; nor why, if it refuses to avail itself of such an element, it should not be held responsible for the lives it sacrifices and the hopes it blights.

But we need emancipation far less for the material aid it affords—great, even indispensable, though it be—than because of other paramount considerations.

We have tried the experiment of a Federal Union, with a free-labor system in one portion of it and a slave system in another, for eighty years; and no one familiar with our affairs for a quarter of a century past is ignorant that the result has been an increase—embittered year by year in ever-accelerated ratio—of dissensions, of sectional jealousies, of national heart-burnings. When, eighteen months since, these culminated in war, it was but the issue which our ablest statesmen, looking sorrowfully into the future, had long since foretold. But if, while yet at pence and with all the influence of revolutionary reminiscences pleading the cause of Union, this diversity of labor systems, producing variance of character and alienation of feeling, proved stronger to divide than all past memories and present interests to unite, what chance is there that its baneful power for evil should cease, now, when to thoughts of fancied injuries in other years are added the recollections of the terrible realities enacted on a hundred bloody battle-fields, from which the smoke has scarcely passed away?

None—the remotest!

A suspension of hostilities we can purchase; a few years' respite, probably, in which to return to our money-getting before the storm bursts forth anew with gathered force; but if we look beyond selfishness and the present; if our children are in our thoughts; if we are suffering and expending now, that they, in a land of prosperity, may live and die in peace, then must we act so that the result shall endure. We must not be content to put off the evil day. The root of the evil—the pregnant cause of the war—that must be eradicated.

Report has it that a Western politician recently proposed, as the best solution of our difficulties, the recognition of slavery in all the States. Such an idea has a basis of truth; namely, that a state of war is, among us, the necessary result of conflicting labor systems. Such an idea might even be carried out and lead to peace but for that progressive spirit of Christian civilization which we dare not openly outrage, how imperfectly soever we obey its humane behests.

There are a thousand reasons—geographical, commercial, political, international—why we should not consent to a separation into two confederacies; it is a contingency not to be thought of or entertained; but *if we look merely to the conditions of lasting peace,* the chance of maintaining it would be far better if the independence of the South were to be recognized with her negroes emancipated, than if she were to return to her allegiance, retaining her slave system.

For in the former case, the cause of dissension being uprooted, the tendency would be to reunite, and a few years might see us a single nation again, while, in the latter, a constantly active source of irritation still existing, three years of breathing time would not elapse without bringing endless quarrels and a second rebellion.

Conceive reunion with slavery still in existence. Imagine Southern sympathizers in power among us, offering compromises. Suppose the South, exhausted with military reverses and desiring a few years' armistice to recruit, decides to accept it under the guise of peace and reconstruction? What next? Thousands of slaves, their excited hopes of emancipation crushed, fleeing across the border. A Fugitive Slave law, revived by pence, demanding their rendition. Popular opinion in the North opposed to the law, and refusing the demand. Renewed war the certain consequence.

Or take, even, the alternative of recognition—recognition of an independent confederacy, still slaveholding. Are we, then—becoming the sole exception among the nations of the earth—to make ourselves aiders and abettors of the slave system of a foreign nation, by agreeing to return to her negro refugees seeking liberty and an asylum among us? National self-respect imperatively forbids this. Public sentiment would compel the rejection, as a base humiliation, of any proposed treaty stipulation, providing for rendition of runaway slaves. Yet the South would regard such rejection in no other light than as a standing menace—a threat to deprive her of what she regards as her most valuable property. Coterminous as for hundreds—possibly thousands—of miles our boundaries would be, must not the South, in common prudence, maintain all along that endless border-line an armed slave police? Are we to consent to this? And if we do, shall we escape border raids after fleeing fugitives? No sane man will expect it. Are we to suffer these? We are disgraced. Are we to resent them? It is a renewal of hostilities.

State elections may go as they will. Their results can never change the fact that any party obtaining the control of the government and adopting the policy that the settlement of the emancipation question is to be postponed till the war shall be closed, will never, while it pursues that policy, see this war permanently closed—not even by accepting a shameful disruption of our country.

But if emancipation is to avail us as a peace measure, we must adopt it boldly, resolutely, effectually. It must be general, not partial; extending not to the slaves of rebels only, but to every slave on this continent. Even if it were practicable, which it is not, with slavery non-existent in the Northern States and abolished in those which persist in rebellion, to maintain it in the narrow border-strip, it is precisely there, where negro fugitives can the most readily escape, that its maintenance would the most certainly lead to war.

Can this great peace measure be constitutionally enacted?

A proclamation or (the more appropriate form) an act of general emancipation, should, in its preamble, set forth, in substance, that the claims to service or labor of which it deprives certain persons having been proved, by recent events, to be of a character endangering the supremacy of the law, jeopardizing the integrity of the Union, and incompatible with the permanent peace of the country, are taken by the government, with just compensation made. Under circumstances far less urgent than these, the law or custom of civilized nations, based on considerations of public utility, authorizes such taking of private property for public use. We ourselves are familiar with its operation. When a conflagration in a city threatens to spread far, houses in the line of its progress may legally be seized and destroyed by the authorities in order to arrest it; and the owners are not held to have been wronged if they are paid for such losses under an equitable appraisement. But it is not the existence of part of a city that is now endangered; it is the integrity of one among the first Powers of the world that is menaced with destruction.

The truth of the preamble suggested has become, in my judgment, incontrovertible. It will receive the assent of an overwhelming majority of the people of the loyal States. The public sentiment of Europe will admit its truth.

Let us confess that such a preamble, as preface to act or proclamation, could not have commanded the assent of more than a small fraction of our people, only two short years ago—two years, as we reckon time; a generation, if we calculate by the stirring events and far-reaching upheavals that have been crowded into the eventful months. In such days as these abuses ripen rapidly. Their consequences mature. Their ultimate tendencies become apparent. We are reminded of their transitory character. We are reminded that although for the time, and in a certain stage of human progress, some abuses may have their temporary use, and for this, under God's economy, may have been suffered to continue; yet all abuses have but a limited life. The Right only is eternal.

The rebellion, teacher and creator, as well as scourge and destroyer, by sternly laying bare the imminent dangers of slavery, has created the constitutionality of emancipation. It has done more. It has made emancipation a bounden political duty, as well as a strictly constitutional right.

Can we, in declaring emancipation, legally avoid the payment, say of two hundred million, in the shape of compensation to loyal slaveholders?

Not if a slaveholder's right to service and labor from his slaves, when not forfeited by treason, is legal. On humanitarian grounds the legality of that right has been denied. But a construction of the Constitution adverse to such denial, and acquiesced in by the nation throughout more than two generations, is held by most men to be reason sufficient why the right in question should be regarded as private property. If it be private property, then, except by violating the fifth article of the amendments to the Constitution, it cannot be taken for public use without just compensation. To violate any article of the Constitution is a revolutionary act; but such acts cost the nation more than a few hundred million of dollars.

The risk that a future decision of the Supreme Court might declare emancipation without compensation to be unconstitutional is, of itself, sufficient justification of the President's policy, corresponding to the above suggestions, in this matter.

Such compensation will be unpopular with many. Wise and just acts, when they involve sacrifices, frequently are. A wrong long tolerated commonly entails a penalty, which is seldom cheerfully paid. Yet, even on other grounds, we ought not, in this case, to begrudge the money. Who deserve better of their country than those brave men who, in the border and other slave States, have clung to their loyalty through all the dark hours of peril even to life?

Precautions naturally suggest themselves against false pretences of loyalty. It seems expedient that he who shall have proved that he is the legal owner of certain slaves, and also that he has ever been loyal to the Union, should receive a certificate of indebtedness by the government, not transferable, to be paid at some fixed time subsequent to the termination of the war; payment being made contingent on the fact that the claimant shall not, meanwhile, have lapsed from his loyalty.

Every such claimant once recognized, would feel himself to be, by his own act, the citizen of a free State; one of us, detached forever from the Southern league. A government stockholder, he would become pecuniarily interested in the support of the government and the restoration of peace.

Even if the Legislatures of the Border States should not initiate such a policy, the loyal men of these States will accept it.

Such a measure does not involve expense in conveying the liberated negro to other countries. It has hitherto, indeed, been the usual policy in slave States to discourage, as dangerous, the residence there of free blacks; and hence an idea that colonization should be the concomitant of emancipation. Of *general* emancipation, there is no need whatever that it should be. Those who take up such an idea forget that the jealousy with which slaveholders regard the presence of free negroes springs out of the dread that these may infect with a desire for freedom the slaves around them, thus rendering them insubordinate. But when all are free there will be no slaves to incite, nor any chains to be broken by resort to insurrection.

It is no business of ours either to decide for the liberated negro, where he shall dwell, or to furnish his travelling expenses. Freemen, black or white, should select their own dwelling-place and pay their own way.

As to the fears of competition in labor sought to be excited in the minds of the Northern workingman, they have foundation only in case emancipation be refused; for such refusal would flood the North with fugitives. If, on the contrary, emancipation be carried out, the strong local attachments of the negro will induce him, with rarest exceptions, to remain as a hired laborer where he worked as a slave. Thus humane masters will not lack sufficient working hands, of which colonization would deprive them. And if, notwithstanding the probable rise of Southern staples, profits, at first, should be less, the security of the planter will be greater. He will no longer lie down at night uncertain whether the morning's news may not be that his slaves have risen against them.

This is the paper view of the question. But all edicts, all proclamations, how wise and righteous soever, are but idle announcements now, if we lack courage and conduct to enforce them.

Courage we have. Raw levies have behaved like veterans. The skeletons of regiments reduced to one-tenth their original number, attest the desperate valor with which they confronted death. Not with the rank and file is the blame! The leading! There has been the secret of failure.

With all the advantages of a just cause over our enemies, we have suffered them to outdo us in earnestness. We lack the enthusiasm which made irresistible the charge of Cromwell's Ironsides. We need the invincible impulse of a sentiment. We want, above all, leaders who know and feel what they are fighting for. This is a war in which mercenaries avail not. There must be a higher motive than the pay of a Swiss—a holier duty urging on than the professional pride or the blind obedience of a soldier. By parliamentary usage a proposed measure is entrusted, for fostering care, to its friends. So should this war be. Its conduct should be confided to men whose hearts and souls are in it.

Again. It has long been one of our national sins that we pass by, with scarcely a rebuke, the gravest public offences. We utterly fail in holding to a strict accountability our public men. The result of such failure, in peace, had almost escaped our notice. In war we have now beheld its effects, flagrant and terrible.

It was not to be expected that among so many thousands of officers suddenly appointed there should not be some hundreds of incompetents. Such things must be. No one is to blame if, in field or garden, weeds spring up. The blame rests with him who leaves them there to choke the crop and cumber the ground.

Accountability—that should be the watchword—ACCOUNTABILITY, stern, unrelenting! Office has its emoluments; let it have its responsibilities also. Let us *demand,* as Napoleon demanded, success from our leaders. The rule may work harshly. War needs harsh rules. Actions are not to be measured in war by the standard of peace. The sentinel, worn by extreme fatigue, who sleeps at his post, incurs the penalty of death. There is mercy in courts-martial—drum-head courts-martial. A dozen officers shot, whenever the gravity of the offence demands it, may be the saving of life to tens of thousands of brave men.

Eighteen months have passed. Eight hundred million have been spent. We have a million of armed men in the field. More than a hundred thousand rest in soldiers' graves. And for all this what result? Is it strange if sometimes the heart sinks and resolution fails at the thought that, from sheer administrative infirmity, the vast sacrifice may have been all in vain?

But let the past go! Its fatal faults (difficult perhaps, to avoid, under an effort so sudden and so vast) can never be recalled. Doubtless they had their use. It needed the grievous incapacity we have witnessed, the stinging reverses we have suffered, the invasion even of free States we have lived to see commenced; it needed the hecatombs of dead piled up unavailingly on battle-field after battle-field—the desolate hearths, the broken-hearted survivors—it needed all this to pave the way for that emancipation which is the only harbinger of peace.

The future! That is still ours to improve. Nor, if some clouds yet rest upon it, is it without bright promise. Signs of nascent activity, energy, and a resolution to hold accountable for the issue the leaders of our armies, are daily apparent. Better than all, the initiative in a true line of policy has been taken. The twenty-third of September has had its effect. The path of safety is before us; steep and rugged, indeed, but no longer doubtful nor obscure. A lamp has been lit to guide our steps; a lamp that may burn more brightly before a new year dawns upon us. The noble prayer of Ajax has been vouchsafed in our case. At last we have light to fight by.

We shall reach a quiet haven if we but follow faithfully and perseveringly that guiding light.

There is, at this moment, in the hearts of all good men throughout the length and breadth of the land, no deeper feeling, no more earnest longing, than for peace; peace not for the day, not to last for a few years; but peace, on a foundation of rock, for ourselves and for our children after us. May the hearts of our our rulers be opened to the conviction that they can purchase only a shambling counterfeit except at one cost! God give them to see, ere it be too late, that THE PRICE OF ENDURING PEACE IS GENERAL EMANCIPATION!

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

ROBERT DALE OWEN.

New York, Nov. 10, 1862.

MR. SEWARD.

From The Commonwealth.

THE following letter, from a gentleman well-informed in relation to public affairs at Washington, was recently addressed to one of the most eminent politicians of the State of New York.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 5th, 1862.

DEAR SIR: The paramount deficiency which during the last eighteen months generated all the political and military shortcomings and disasters, may be compressed into the following words: *Want of energy.*

Want of energy has neutralized the countless and unparalleled sacrifices in money, blood and time, made by the generous masses of the people; it is, therefore, an imperative duty to consider the actions and the influence of those who almost up to this hour, hamper every energetic action and palsy the energy of the Administration.

Mr. Seward's conservative and preservative policy makes him the evil spirit of the cause for which the nation in torrents sheds its best blood. Continually under the illusion that the rebellion was rather "a flash in the pan," that it might have been conjured by the franking privilege for his speeches, or by any semi-hostile demonstration, almost from the beginning of this deadly struggle, Mr. Seward was the inspiring mind, the master spirit and the ardent supporter of the cursed temporizations and delays which from the Autumn of 1861, and during the succeeding Winter and Spring so fatally and terribly undermined the cause of the people and drove to despair all the true patriots.

The commander of the not-acting, not-moving army, represented the mere brutal fact of inactivity—the inspiration came from other quarters. When, however, in the Spring, *the ardent, pure and patriotic spirit of the new Secretary of War* (Mr. Stanton)—not yet undermined or almost palsied by intriguers, imbeciles and traitors—dissipated the cursed lethargy, and a brilliant success crowned the arms of the patriotic volunteers in the West; then in his ardent desire for the preservation of the Union with slavery, Mr. Seward lighted his lantern and diligently searched the rebel region for that Union party which was to overthrow the rule of Jeff. Davis, thereby delaying the progress of our victorious armies.

In a dispatch May 28th, 1862, to Mr. Adams at London, Mr. Seward boasts before Europe that "*the government covers the weakness of the insurgents,*" that it "*takes care of the welfare of the insurgents,*" a tenderness which naturally jeopardized the country and the *welfare* of the loyal men of the North. I have powerful reasons to believe that the same delusions are still paramount in Mr. Seward's mind. He expects to give peace to the country by the union of the so-called conservative elements in the North (you know well, sir, what such elements are) with the conservative parties and elements in the South. Mr. Seward was and is an unflinching standard-bearer of the policy of the N. Y. *Herald.*

So much for the policy at home, whose effects were however less baneful abroad. Neither for you, nor for any one whom I respect, could I wish the character Mr. Seward by his policy has earned among the cabinets and statesmen of Europe. His continual, endless, official, semi-official, unofficial, confidential written and verbal prophecies and peremptory communications about the ending of the war in respectively thirty, sixty or ninety days, and his repeated emphatical assurances in regard to the preservation and restoration of the Union with slavery—"*even if slavery may rule in Boston*"—made his statesmanship a *byword* among the leaders of the European cabinets. To such appreciation of Mr. Seward's political and diplomatic master-strokes are due some of the cold and sneering rebukes directed rather at him than at the American people.

Such a general policy was as disastrous as the strategies, peninsular campaigns, drawn battles and slow movements of Gen. McClellan.

All the above made assertions and outlines can easily be substantiated by facts and data already recorded by the history of those deadly eighteen months, or can be further evidenced by logical rational deductions.

The cause of the North, being the cause of civilization and of humanity as well as Europe, does not crave for glittering, shallow generalizations and fo cold, heartless rhetoric. The great deed of emancipation which filled with joy all the Christian and unchristian, all the civilized and uncivilized world, did not warm Mr. Seward's conservative policy, and it would have been easier for him to swallow a viper than to give a hearty cheer for emancipation or to support a high-minded patriot like Gen. Wadsworth and the General's political friends.

You, sir, and many others, who honored me with their friendship, long before this, know, that by my occupations during the last year and the study of the policy and the man, the opinion which you, they and I formed long ago about this once leader of the Republican party, has been confirmed and strengthened.

For nearly half a century, tested by all kinds of political, social and revolutionary tossings, boilings, eruptions and disasters, I have paid something for having learned to discern between cunning egotism and high-minded patriotic abnegation; I have also learned to find out the difference between pinch-beck and gold in human nature and in human character.

THE "CONTRABANDS" OF THE DARLINGTON.

[MRS. F. D. GAGE, in a letter to *The Tribune,* dated Beaufort, S. C., Nov. 10, gives the following account of the "Contrabands" brought to that place on the government transport Darlington, from the expedition down the coast of Georgia and Florida.]

I HAVE looked down into the hold of the Darlington, and seen the mass of living, moving humanity stowed away "*in this middle passage,*" enduring the closeness and dimness with songs of rejoicing, for their inconveniences were to end in freedom, not in slavery. I have shaken hands till the strong grip of the emancipated, in the first enthusiasm of joy, made my very nerves quiver. For more than one old mother, who had escaped from the tyranny that had robbed her of half her household (and in one case of all) clasped my hand so tightly, as she cried, "Bress the Lord, missis," "Thank the good Lord, missis," "We nebber 'spect to see this day, missis; nebber, nebber, nebber," "We almost in heben now, missis," that I actually shrank with pain.

Oh! what strength they have gathered from their hard toil in cane and cotton fields, for the white tyrant's work. But his day of power has past.

The laborers on the Sea Islands seem a more oppressed and degraded class than those gathered upon the mainland plantations or the coast towns. It is said the flying rebels took with them all the bright, sound, salable ones, and left behind those who could not do much in helping them to uphold the rebellion, by maintaining and sustaining the only class, in these fertile regions, that cannot or will not sustain themselves.

This opinion gains ground by every accession of contrabands brought in from other parts of the country, where the masters have had no opportunity of selecting.

Many of the shrewd and intelligent have made use of their wit by escaping to our lines, and are now doing good service in the Union cause, which will find no recorder in the present. But the historic pen will, in coming time, do justice to the noble deeds and daring enterprises which they have accomplished. They, and they alone, in this heart of rebeldom, hold the key that shall open all doors for our entrée. For they know every inch of ground, they know every mark of high or low tide, they know where the cotton is stored, where the corn, rice, and sweet potatoes grow, where the enemy is weakest, and where the people are most ready for liberty, and not since the first hour of this fratricidal war has our government done a better or wiser thing than to order them to be enlisted into the service of the country of their birth. Black slavery at the North is a different thing from white slavery, and I beg to say to those who still lean to the side of the oppressor, that white slavery is "constitutional" in Georgia. Among the slaves brought from the coast is a grandmother and a numerous family. The elder woman is tall, stately, and dignified. The blood of some proud race flushes her almost white face. Her daughters are both whiter and darker than herself, and her grandchildren are whiter still, and some of them very beautiful.

One babe is perfectly white. It has not a florid blush, sandy hair and blue eyes. But its skin is very fair, its eyes large, lustrous and brown, while not a vestige of the kinky hair would shame the proudest Anglo-Saxon mother to call it her own.

It was amusing to one who has been cultured into a belief that human liberty is not based upon the color of the skin or curl of hair, and that virtue and vice belong to no sex but on the eternal principles of right and wrong, to witness the attention paid to this child of some freeman born into slavery through the direful curse laid by the law upon its mother.

No doubt this father, whoever he may be, holds up his hands in holy horror at the idea of legal amalgamation, reads his Bible to find some semblance of the old Jewish law, to prove it a "Divine institution," "and talks wisely and on the streets too" about the degradation and licentiousness of the negro race.

This little white lamb among a colored flock was petted and patted, and even kissed; for it was kept sweet and clean in pink and white. What a world of thought clustered about this one sweet child.

"She has stolen it," said one. "She has run away with her mistress's child," said another. But the great brown eyes, so full of subdued sorrow, revealing even in babyhood the wrongs of another, were so exactly duplicates of those that looked down upon it tenderly that there was not left room for the shadow of a doubt that she was its true mother.

"Oh, how the soldiers of Fort Pulaski did curse and swear at the institution of slavery when they saw that baby," said an officer to me as we stood looking at it. "They now wish to fight it to the death."

Oh! that we could send that baby round to all the forts and all the regiments, to make them vow hostility to the death to slavery. Who shall say that this little "Sarah," may not be the very babe and suckling prophesied of in olden time, that should perfect the praise of the Lord, sent here among the negro-haters of the army, to help to redeem our beloved and suffering country from this terrific war. She would be a sweet little "strategy," perchance, to keep half the Army of the Potomac from laying down their honors, when emancipation becomes law, the 1st of January, 1863.

GEN. BUTLER'S ADMINISTRATION IN NEW ORLEANS.

From The N. Y. Times.

GEN. BUTLER said he had sent instructions to Gen. Weitzel how to dispose of those four hundred waggon-loads of negroes that were captured at Bayou Lafourche, and he added that he would forward to the North a copy of his dispatch on the subject "by next mail." There have been a couple of mails from New Orleans since that time, and though we have looked anxiously for the document in question, we have not discovered any one devoted specially to a solution of the great problem. It is probable, however, that what Butler referred to was a section in "Orders No. 91," referring to the general government of the recently possessed country of the Lafourche, which order we publish below:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 9, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 91.—The Commanding General being informed, and believing, that the District west of the Mississippi River, lately taken possession of by the United States troops, is most largely occupied by persons disloyal to the United States, and whose property has become liable to confiscation under the acts of Congress and the proclamation of the President, and that sales and transfers of said property are being made for the purpose of depriving the government of the same, has determined, in order to secure the rights of all persons, as well as those of the government, and for the purpose of enabling the crops now growing to be taken care of and secured, and the unemployed laborers to be set at work, and provision made for payment for their labor—

To order as follows:

I. That all the property within the District to be known as the "District of Lafourche," be and hereby is sequestered, and all sales or transfers thereof are forbidden, and will be held invalid.

II. The District of Lafourche will comprise all the territory in the State of Louisiana lying west of the Mississippi River, except the parishes of Plaquemine and Jefferson.

III. That

Maj. Joseph M. Bell, Provost-Judge, President,
Lieut.-Col. J. B. Kinsman, A. D. C.,
Capt. Fuller (Seventy-fifth New York Volunteers), Provost-Marshal of the District,

be a commission to take possession of the property in said District, to make an accurate inventory of the same, and to gather up and collect all such personal property, and turn over to the proper officers, upon their receipts, such of said property as may be required for the use of the United States army; to collect together all the other personal property, and bring the same to New Orleans, and cause it to be sold at public auction to the highest bidders, and after deducting the necessary expenses of care, collection and transportation, to hold the proceeds thereof subject to the just claims of loyal citizens and those neutral foreigners who, in good faith, shall appear to be the owners of the same.

IV. Every loyal citizen or neutral foreigner who shall be found in actual possession and ownership of any property in said District not having acquired the same by any title since the 18th day of September last, may have his property returned or delivered to him without sale, upon establishing his condition to the judgment of the Commission.

V. All sales made by any person not a loyal citizen or foreign neutral, since the 18th day of September, shall be held void, and all sales whatever, made with the intent to deprive the government of its rights of confiscation, will be held void at what time soever made.

VI. The Commission is authorized to employ in working the plantation of any person who has remained quietly at his home, whether he be loyal or disloyal, the negroes who may be found in said District, or who have or may hereafter claim the protection of the United States, upon the terms set forth in a memorandum of a contract heretofore offered to the planters of the parishes of Plaquemines and St. Bernard, or white labor may be employed at the election of the Commission.

VII. The Commissioners will cause to be purchased such supplies as may be necessary, and convey them to such convenient depots as to supply the planters in the making of the crop; which supplies will be charged against the crop manufactured and shall constitute a lien thereon.

VIII. The Commissioners are authorized to work for the account of the United States such plantations as are deserted by their owners, or are held by disloyal owners, as may seem to them expedient, for the purpose of saving the crops.

IX. Any persons who have not been actually in arms against the United States, since the occupation of New Orleans by its forces, and who shall remain peaceably upon their plantations, affording no aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States, and who shall return to their allegiance, and who shall, by all reasonable methods, aid the United States when called upon, may be empowered by the Commission to work their own plantations, to make their own crop, and to retain possession of their own property, except such as is necessary for the military uses of the United States. And to all such persons the Commission are authorized to furnish means of transportation for their crops and supplies, at just and equitable prices.

X. The Commissioners are empowered and authorized to call, from time to time, for reports from all persons of the loyalty, disloyalty or neutrality of the various claimants of property within said District; and, further, to report such persons as in their judgment ought to be recommended by the Commanding General to the President for amnesty and pardon, so that they may have their property returned; to the end that all persons that are loyal may suffer as little injury as possible, and that all persons who have been heretofore disloyal may have an opportunity now to prove their loyalty and to return to their allegiance, and to save their property from confiscation, if such shall be the determination of the government of the United States. By command of

Maj.-Gen. BUTLER.

GEO. C. STRONG, A. A. G. and Chief of Staff.

New Orleans Correspondence of The Herald.

It will be seen by section 6 [of the above order] that it is not the intention of Gen. Butler to allow the negroes within his lines to eat the bread of idleness. Humanity no less than policy dictates that these people shall be put to work, and as the slaveholders have declared that they will make no sugar, and tauntingly said that if any sugar is to be made it must be manufactured by the "Yankees," it would seem that Gen. Butler, in seizing the bull by the horns, by taking these gentlemen at their word, has only acted up to the principle he started upon on assuming the direction of affairs in this city and neighborhood. "If you want sugar made, make it yourself," say the planters in the neighborhood of Bayou Lafourche. "I take you at your word," says Gen. Butler, and forthwith he sends a sufficient number of troops to protect those whom he employs in the cutting of the canes and the manufacture of the sugar; and he employs the very negroes, at wages, to work in the field and the factory, that their masters, by abandoning the cultivation of this great staple, doomed to starvation. Can anything be more fair?

Gen. Butler, however, does not confine his operations to growing canes and sugar in the course of manufacture. He has seized all the sugar on the levee of this city, applicable, of course, to the provisions of his order, doing justice to loyal citizens proving themselves to be such, and aliens in good faith with the government of the United States. Thus no loop-hole is left for persons whose property is liable to confiscation, agreeable to the law of Congress, to escape.

Information has reached me that a great number of citizens in the neighborhood of Weitzel's brigade are becoming disgusted, day by day, with the spurious Southern Confederacy, and are taking the oath of allegiance in numbers. Desertions from the rebels are reported to be on the increase. The residents in the neighborhood of Bayou Lafourche and the surrounding regions are beginning to compare the occupation of the Union troops with the billeting on them of the rebels very much to the detriment of the latter. Instances are known in which their dear friends, the rebels, especially if they happened to be guerillas, cleaned out everything belonging to some poor widow, and, after having sacked her house of all it possessed, cleared out themselves, after a couple of weeks' sojourn. On the contrary, the Union troops pay for all they take, barring, of course, the occasional eccentric act of an eccentric soldier, who may find himself in possession of a chicken, or some such trifle, over and above what he has paid for; but these accidents will occasionally happen in the best regulated armies.

But the nigger! Glorious Sambo! Happy Quashie! He lives in clover. To him belongs the fattest turkey, the plumpest goose, the tenderest chicken, while in beef and swine he revels galore. Moreover, Master Quashie lolls back in "Massa's" easy chair, brushes his wool—beg pardon, his hair—with "Massa's" hair brush, and actually not only rides "Massa's" horses, but drives in "Massa's" carriage. These are facts that I have received from authority too authentic to be doubted. But, of course, this sort of a high life "below stairs" does not last long. As soon as it comes within the cognizance of the Federal military authorities it is put a stop to. In connection with this, I may mention that part of the event so devoutly wished for by the rebels taken at the fight at Thibodeaux has been realized. Gen. Bragg's plantation has been thoroughly "cleaned out"; but the buildings have not been burned, as I believe his family, or a part of it, still resides there.

Another thing I have been told about the negroes in that region is worthy of being mentioned; they hold prayer meetings, at which the great staple of their petitions is "that it may please de Lord to bress Massa Lincoln, and that they bress de Lord dat dey hab lib to see de day when dey am able to make sich a prayer." They pray so loud that they may be heard a mile from the place of meeting in the night.

Washington Correspondence of the same paper.

An intelligent officer writing from the Department of the Gulf explains Gen. Butler's *modus operandi* upon the negro question. He says that the General inquires of the planters within his jurisdiction, if they are loyal citizens. If answered affirmatively, the planter is required to point out his negroes, and promise to pay them ten dollars per month and board and clothing. Upon doing this they are allowed as many negroes as they choose to employ. Planters who have avowed their disloyalty are told to leave their plantations, which are confided to a government agent, who superintends the negroes who flock within our lines. In this way it is found that the negroes work to great advantage, and what with the large numbers employed in repairing the Opelousas railroad and the levees in front of the city, there are less than a thousand who are a tax upon the government.

It is estimated that the returns from the labors of the negroes employed by the government agents will fully reimburse the government for all the expenses incurred in the maintenance of all the contrabands in the department. Practical instances are cited to show that these negro hands produce more for wages than as slaves, and experience also shows that in the adoption of this new system it is necessary to place over the hired laborers men who have been accustomed to superintend such operatives, instead of the class of overseers who have usually been employed to manage negroes on Southern plantations. Many of the planters who have adopted this hiring system, have engaged Yankee managers to work the negroes. The new system is said to be rapidly gaining favor among the planters, and promises to prove beneficial wherever the Federal authority is extended.

The General is said to be managing the negro question in his department in such a way as to give the least possible trouble to the administration, and with such economy as to make it pecuniarily self-sustaining.

MISSOURI SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE PROCLAMATION.

LETTER OF COL. B. GRATZ BROWN.

To the Editors of The Missouri Democrat.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 14, 1862.

GENTLEMEN: At the present time the cause of freedom in Missouri is only obstructed by those who think more of conserving the interest which a few thousand slaveholders claim in a very precarious species of property, than they do of reviving the industries that support more than a million of non-slaveholders.

There are estimated to be about 40,000 slaves now held to service in this State. That number will, in all probability, be reduced to 30,000 or less before any action can be had upon the subject of emancipation. To affirm that more than one-half of those are held by masters who have so far aided and abetted the rebellion as to have lost all legal right to their ownership under the "Confiscation Act," is only to generalize facts of which we have daily illustration in the liberation of slaves by the Provost-Marshals, not only at Division Headquarters, but throughout the interior Counties. The residue of 15,000 slaves assessed upon the present tax valuations, would not aggregate more than $5,000,000, nor represent, according to the usual average, more than 6,000 loyal slaveholders.

It will be at once apparent, therefore, to every serious thinker that violence will be done to much larger and graver interests if we permit the extinction of slavery to be longer hindered by misrepresentation as to its *status,* or postponed by any false delicacy in striking at it directly.

The march of events latterly has dissipated many illusions from the minds of the people of this State, and chief of all in beneficial result I take to be this: that the slaveholder is no longer the *beau ideal* of the non-slaveholder. Still, there are many who cannot shake off the habits of thought in which they have heretofore indulged, and although fully realizing the social not less than individual degradation which slavery entails, are yet willing to put a generation between us and the benefits to result from its abolition, out of simple tenderness for an idol long worshipped. To all such the reflection should commend itself, that, granting the overthrow of the slave system in Missouri as fixed, it then becomes self-evident the sooner the institution ceases to cumber the ground, the speedier will be the realization to all classes of the prosperity that will attend repopulation and industrial development. Loyal slaveholders, who are also landholders, will obtain from enhanced real estate values more than a full compensation for their sacrifices; and loyal slaveholders who are landless will have good prospect of being reimbursed individually for

idle threats—disgraceful dickerings, as they will prove to whoever undertakes to play such part in the face of such a future.

The President announces that in designating the "States" and "parts of States" in which the rebellious attitude of the population will constrain him to abolish slavery by military act on the 1st of January next, the fact of elections regularly held, and Representatives in Congress duly chosen, will be ground for presuming that the necessity does not there exist for such action at his hands. But he also adds, wisely, as it will no doubt prove, that such inference is open to be refuted by "*strong countervailing testimony.*" That elections will be held in most of the Counties of this State is not doubtful. It is equally certain, however, that "countervailing testimony" can be adduced by loyal citizens ample to establish the rebellious character of whole districts in the interior, to show the sinister use that is being made of slavery there to foment strife, and to make plain the imperious military reasons that demand its extinction promptly, if the campaigns of the coming year are to be other than those of the last, and our armies are not again to be recalled from Arkansas to reclaim Missouri.

Let it, then, be the present duty of those who are true friends to the cause of Freedom in this State, and who believe that the proclamation is something more than a sham, to forthwith make the requisite facts manifest, and organize such expression by petition from the people, as shall confirm the President in the propriety of including Missouri in the great act of Emancipation that will inaugurate the new year—and confer new life and lustre upon the Republic.

Respectfully yours, B. GRATZ BROWN.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Scheme of Compensated Emancipation.

[While referring our readers to other sources for the entire Message communicated by the President to Congress on Monday last, we give place below to the portions thereof relating to slavery, being somewhat more than half of the whole document.]

THE SLAVE TRADE.

The treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the African slave trade has been put into operation with a good prospect of complete success. It is an occasion of special pleasure to acknowledge that the execution of it on the part of her Majesty's government has been marked with a jealous respect for the authority of the United States and the rights of their moral and loyal citizens.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

Applications have been made to me by many free Americans of African descent to favor their emigration, with a view to such colonization as was contemplated in recent acts of Congress. Other parties, at home and abroad, some from interested motives, others upon patriotic considerations, and still others influenced by philanthropic sentiments, have suggested similar measures; while, on the other hand, several of the Spanish American republics have protested against the sending of such colonies to their respective territories. Under these circumstances, I have declined to move any such colony to any State, without first obtaining the consent of its government, with an agreement on its part to receive and protect such emigrants in all their rights of freemen, and I have at the same time offered to the several States situated in the tropics, or having colonies there, to negotiate with them, subject to the advice and consent of the Senate, to favor the voluntary emigration of persons of that class to their respective territories, upon conditions which shall be equal, just and humane. Liberia and Hayti are, as yet, the only countries to which colonists of African descent from here could go with certainty of being received and adopted as citizens, and I regret to say that such persons contemplating colonization do not seem so willing to emigrate to those countries as to some others, nor as willing as, I think, their interest demands. I believe, however, the opinion among them in this respect is improving, and that ere long there will be an augmented and considerable emigration to both those countries from the United States.

SCHEME OF COMPENSATED EMANCIPATION.

On the 22d day of September last, a proclamation was issued by the Executive, a copy of which is herewith submitted. In accordance with the purpose expressed in the second paragraph of that paper, I now respectfully recall your attention to what may be called "Compensated Emancipation." A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth forever. It is of the first importance to duty to consider and estimate this ever-enduring part. That portion of the earth's surface which is owned and inhabited by the people of the United States is well adapted to be the home of one national family, and it is not well adapted for two or more. Its vast extent and its variety of climate and productions are of advantage in this age for one people, whatever they might have been in former ages. Steam and telegraphs, in intelligence, have brought these to be an advantageous combination for one united people.

In the inaugural Address I briefly [illegible] the total inadequacy of disunion as a remedy for the differences between the people of the two sections. I did so in language which I cannot improve, and which, therefore, I beg to repeat: "One section of our country believes slavery is right, and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong, and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute. The Fugitive Slave clause of the Constitution, and the law for suppression of the African slave trade, are each as well enforced, perhaps, as any law can ever be in a community where the moral sense of the people imperfectly supports the law itself. The great body of the people abide by the dry legal obligation in both cases, and a few break over in each. This, I think, cannot be perfectly cured, and it would be worse in both cases, after the separation of the sections, than before. The foreign slave trade, now imperfectly suppressed, would be ultimately revived without restriction in one section, while fugitive slaves, now only partially surrendered, would not be surrendered at all by the other. Physically speaking, we cannot separate; we cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other, but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

There is no line, straight or crooked, suitable for a national boundary upon which to divide. Trace through from East to West upon the line between the free and slave country, and we shall find a little more than one-third of its length are rivers easy to be crossed, and populated, or soon to be populated, thickly upon both sides, while nearly all its remaining length are merely surveyor's lines over which people may walk back and forth without any consciousness of their presence. No part of this line can be made any more difficult to pass by writing it down on paper or parchment as a national boundary. The fact of separation, if it comes, gives up on the part of the seceding section the Fugitive Slave clause, along with all other constitutional obligations upon the section seceded from, while I should expect no treaty stipulations would ever be made to take its place.

But there is another difficulty. The great interior region, bounded east by the Alleghanies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets, and which includes part of Virginia, part of Tennessee, all of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Territories of Dacotah, Nebraska, and part of Colorado, has above ten million of people, and will have fifty million within fifty years, if not prevented by any political folly or mistake. It contains more than one-third of the country owned by the United States—certainly more than one million of square miles; once half as populous as Massachusetts already is, it would have more than seventy-five million of people. A glance at the map shows that, territorially speaking, it is the great body of the Republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it. The magnificent region sloping west from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific being the deepest and also the richest in undeveloped resources in the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from the statistics the small proportion of the region which has as yet been brought into cultivation, and also the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented; and yet this region has no sea-coast—touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, and to Asia by San Francisco. But separate our common country into two nations, as designed by the present rebellion, and every man of this great interior region is thereby cut off from some one or more of these outlets, not perhaps by a physical barrier, but by embarrassing and onerous trade regulations. And this is true wherever a dividing or boundary line may be fixed. Place it between the now free and slave country, or place it south of Kentucky, or north of Ohio, and still the truth remains that none south of it can trade to any port or place north of it, and none north of it can trade to any port or place south of it, except upon terms dictated by a government foreign to them. These outlets East, West and South are indispensable to the well being of the people inhabiting and to inhabit this vast interior region. Which of the three may be the best is no proper question. All are better than either, and all of right belong to that people and to their successors forever. True to themselves, they will not ask where a line of separation shall be, but will vow, rather, that there shall be no such line. Nor are the marginal regions less interested in these communications to and through them to the great outside world. They, too, and each of them, must have access to this Egypt of the West, without paying toll at the crossing of any national boundary. Our national strife springs not from our permanent part, not from the land we inhabit, not from our national homestead. There is no possible severing of this but would multiply, and not mitigate evils among us. In all its adaptations and attributes it demands union and abhors separation. In fact, it would, ere long, force reunion, however much of blood and treasure the separation might have cost. Our strife pertains to ourselves and to the passing generations of men, and it cannot without convulsion be hushed forever with the passing of one generation.

In this view, I recommend the adoption of the following resolution and articles amendatory to the Constitution of the United States:

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures or Conventions of the several States as amendments to the Constitution of the United States, all or any of which articles, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures or Conventions, to be valid as part or parts of the said Constitution, viz.

ARTICLE—Every State wherein slavery now exists, which shall abolish the same therein at any time or times before the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred, shall receive compensation from the United States as follows, to wit:

The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State, bonds of the United States, bearing interest at the rate of ——, for each slave shown to have been therein by the eighth census of the United States; said bonds to be delivered to such State by installments, or in one parcel, at the completion of the abolishment, accordingly as the same shall have been gradual or at one time, within such State; and interest shall begin to run upon any such bond only from the proper time of its delivery as aforesaid and afterward. Any State having received bonds as aforesaid and afterward introducing or tolerating slavery therein, shall refund to the United States the bonds so received, or the value thereof, and all interest paid thereon.

ARTICLE—All slaves who shall have enjoyed actual freedom, by the chances of the war at any time before the end of the rebellion, shall be forever free; but all owners of such, who shall not have been disloyal, shall be compensated for them at the same rates as is provided for States adopting abolishment of slavery, but in such a way that no slave shall be twice accounted for.

ARTICLE—Congress may appropriate money and otherwise provide for colonizing free colored persons, with their own consent, at any place or places without the United States.

I beg indulgence to discuss these proposed articles at some length. Without slavery the rebellion could never have existed; without slavery, it could not continue. Among the friends of the Union there is great diversity of sentiment and of policy in regard to slavery, and the African race amongst us. Some would abolish it suddenly, and without compensation; some would abolish it gradually, and with compensation; some would remove the freed people from us, and some would retain them with us; and there are yet other minor diversities. Because of these diversities we waste much strength in struggles among ourselves; by mutual concession we should harmonize and act together. This would be a compromise among the friends and not with the enemies of the Union. These articles are intended to embody a plan of such mutual concessions. If the plan shall be adopted, it is assumed that emancipation will follow, at least in several of the States. As to the first article, the main points are: First—emancipation; second, the length of time for consummating (thirty-seven years), and thirdly the compensation. The emancipation will be unsatisfactory to the advocates of perpetual slavery, but the length of time should greatly mitigate the dissatisfaction. The time spares both races from the evils of sudden derangement, in fact, from the necessity of any derangement, while most of those whose habitual course of thought will be disturbed by the measure will have passed away before its consummation. They will never see it. Another class will hail the prospect of emancipation, but will deprecate the length of time. They will feel that it gives too little to the now living slaves. But it really gives them much. It saves them from the vagrant destitution which must largely attend immediate emancipation in localities where their numbers are very great, and it gives the inspiriting assurance that their posterity shall be free forever. The plan leaves to each State choosing to act under it to abolish slavery, now or at the end of the century, or at any intermediate time, or by degrees extending over the whole or any part of the period, and it obliges no two States to proceed alike. It also provides for compensation, and generally the mode of making it. This it would seem must further mitigate the dissatisfaction of those who favor perpetual slavery, and especially of those who are to receive compensation. Doubtless some of those who are to pay, and not to receive will object; yet, that the measure is both just and economical, is certain.

The liberation of the slaves is the destruction of property—property acquired by descent or by purchase, the same as any other property.

It is no less true for having been often said, that the people of the South are no more responsible for the original introduction of this property than are the people of the North, and when it is remembered how unhesitatingly we use—all of us use—cotton and sugar, and share the profits of dealing in them, it may not be quite safe to say that the South has been more responsible than the North for its continuance. If, then, for a common object this property is to be sacrificed, is it not just that it be done at a common charge? And if with less money, or money more easily paid, we can preserve the benefits of the Union by this means than we can by the war alone, is it not also economical to do it. Let us consider it, then. Let us ascertain the sum we have expended in the war since compensated emancipation was proposed last March, and consider whether if that measure had been promptly accepted by even some of the slave States, the same sum would not have done more to close the war than has been otherwise done. If so, the measure would save money, and in that view would be a prudent and economical measure. Certainly it is not so easy to pay something as it is to pay nothing. But it is easier to pay a large sum than it is to pay a larger one, and it is easier to pay any sum, when we are able, than it is to pay it before we are able. The war requires them at once. The aggregate sum necessary for compensated emancipation of course would be large, but it would really require no cash, nor bonds, any faster than the emancipation progresses. This might not, and probably would not close before the end of the thirty-seven years. At that time we shall probably have one hundred million of people to share the burdens, instead of thirty one million as now, and not only so, but the increase of our population may be expected to continue for a long time after the period as rapidly as before, because our territory will not have become full. I do not state this inconsiderately. At the same ratio of increase which we have maintained on an average from our first national census in 1790, until that of 1860, we should in 1900 have a population of 103,208,415; and why may we not continue that ratio far beyond that period? Our abundant room, our broad national homestead is our ample resource. Were our territory as limited as are the British Isles, very certainly our population could not expand as stated. Instead of receiving the foreign born as now, we should be compelled to send part of the native born away; but such is not our condition. We have two million nine hundred and sixty-three thousand square miles. Europe has three million and eight hundred thousand, with a population averaging seventy-three and one-third persons to the square mile. Why may not our country at some time average as many? Is it less fertile? Has it more waste surface by mountains, rivers, lakes, deserts or other causes? Is it inferior to Europe in any natural advantage? If, then, we are at some time to be as populous as Europe, how soon? As to when this may be, we can judge by the past and the present. As to when it will, if ever, depends much on whether we maintain the Union. Several of our States are above the average European population of 73⅓ to the square mile. Massachusetts has 157, Rhode Island 133, New York and New Jersey each 80; also two other great States, Pennsylvania and Ohio, are not far below, the former having 63 and the latter 59. The States already above the European average, except New York, have increased in as rapid ratio since passing that point as ever before, while no one of them is equal to some other parts of our country in natural capacity for sustaining a dense population.

Taking the nation in the aggregate, and we find its population and ratio of increase for the several decennial periods to be as follows:

1790— 3,929,827.
1800— 5,305,937—35.02 per cent. ratio of increase.
1810— 7,239,814—37.35 per cent. ratio of increase.
1820— 9,638,131—33.13 per cent. ratio of increase.
1830—12,866,020—33.49 per cent. ratio of increase.
1840—17,069,453—32.67 per cent. ratio of increase.
1850—23,191,876—35.87 per cent. ratio of increase.
1860—31,443,790—35.58 per cent. ratio of increase.

This shows an average decennial increase of 34.60 per cent. in population through the seventy years from our first to our last census taken. It is seen that the ratio of increase at no one of these seven periods is either 2 per cent. below or 2 per cent. above the average, thus showing how inflexible and consequently how reliable the law of increase in our case is. Assuming that it will continue, it gives the following results: 1870, 42,323,341; 1880, 56,967,216; 1890, 76,677,872; 1900, 103,208,415; 1910, 138,918,526; 1920, 186,984,335; 1930, 251,680,914. These figures show that our country may be as populous as Europe now is at some point between 1920 and 1930, say about 1925; our territory, at 73⅓ persons to the square mile, being of the capacity to contain 217,186,000; and we will reach this, too, if we do not ourselves relinquish the chances by the folly and evils of disunion or by long and exhausting war springing from the only great element of national discord among us. While it cannot be foreseen exactly how much one huge example of secession, breeding lesser ones indefinitely, would retard the population, civilization and prosperity, no one can doubt that the extent of it would be very great and injurious.

The proposed emancipation would shorten the war, perpetuate peace, insure this increase of population, and proportionately the wealth of the country. With this we should pay all the emancipation would cost, together with our other debts, easier than we should pay our other debts without it. If we had allowed our old National debt to run at six per cent. per annum, simple interest from the end of our Revolutionary struggle till to-day, without paying anything on either principal or interest, each man of us would owe less upon that debt now than each man owed upon it then; and this because our increase of men through the whole period has been greater than 6 per cent., and has run faster than the interest upon the debt. Thus, time alone relieves a debtor nation so long as its population increases faster than unpaid interest accumulates on its debt. This fact would be no excuse for delaying the payment of what is justly due; but it shows the great importance of time in this connection, the great advantage of a policy by which we shall not have to pay until we number a hundred million, what, by a different policy, we could have to pay now when the number is but thirty-one million. In a word, it shows that a dollar will be much harder to pay for the war than will be a dollar for emancipation on the proposed plan. And then the latter will cost no blood, no precious life. It will be a saving of both. As to the second article, I think it would be impracticable to return to bondage the class of persons therein contemplated. Some of them, doubtless, in the property sense, belong to loyal owners, and hence provision is made in this article for compensating such. The third article relates to the future of the freed people. It does not oblige but merely authorizes Congress to aid in colonizing such as may consent. This ought not to be regarded as objectionable on the one hand, or on the other, inasmuch as it comes to nothing unless by mutual consent of the people to be deported, and the American voters, through their representatives in Congress. I cannot make it better known than it already is, that I strongly favor colonization; and yet I wish to say, there is an objection urged against the colored persons remaining in the country, which is largely imaginary if not sometimes malicious. It is insisted that their presence would injure and displace white labor and white laborers. If there ever could be a proper time for mere arguments, that time surely is not now. In times like the present men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and eternity.

Is it true, then, that colored people can displace any more white labor by being free than remaining slaves? If they stay in their old places they jostle no white laborers. If they leave their old places, they leave them open to white laborers. Logically there is neither more or less of it. Emancipation, even without deportation, would probably enhance the wages of white labor, and very surely would not reduce them. Thus the customary amount of labor would still have to be performed. The freed people would surely not do more than their old proportion of it, and very probably, for a time, would do less, leaving an increased part to white laborers, bringing their labor into greater demand, and, consequently, enhancing the wages of it. With deportation, even to a limited extent, enhancing wages to white labor is mathematically certain. Labor is like any other commodity in the market; increase the demand for it, and you increase the price of it. Reduce the supply of black labor, by colonizing the black laborer out of the country, and by precisely so much you increase the demand for and the wages of white labor. But it is decided that the freed people will swarm forth, and cover the whole land. Are they not already in the land? Will liberation make them any more numerous? Equally distributed among the whites of the whole country, and there would be but one colored to seven whites. Could the one in any way greatly disturb the seven? There are many communities now having more than one free colored person to seven whites, and this without any apparent consciousness of evil from it. The District of Columbia and the States of Maryland and Delaware are all in this condition. The District has more than one free colored to six whites. Yet, in its frequent petitions to Congress, I believe it has never presented the presence of free colored persons as one of its grievances. But why should emancipation South send the freed people North? People of any color seldom run unless there be something to run from. Heretofore, colored people, to some extent, have fled North from bondage and now perhaps from both bondage, and destitution; but if gradual emancipation and deportation be adopted, they will have neither to flee from. Their old masters will give them wages, at least, until new laborers can be procured; and the freed men, in turn, will gladly give their labor for the wages till new homes can be found for them in congenial climes, and with people of their own blood and race.

This proposition can be trusted on the mutual interests involved, and in any event, cannot the North decide for itself, whether to receive them? Again, as practice proves more than theory in any case, has there been any irruption of colored people northward because of the abolishment of slavery in this District last spring? What I have said of the proportion of free colored persons to the whites in the District is from the census of 1860, having no reference to persons called contrabands, nor to those made free by the act of Congress abolishing slavery here. The plan consisting of these articles is recommended, not but that a restoration of the National authority would be accepted without its adoption; nor will the war, nor proceedings under the proclamation of September 22d, 1862, be stayed, because of the recommendation of this plan. Its timely adoption I doubt not would bring restoration, and thereby stay both. And notwithstanding this plan, the recommendation that Congress provide by law for compensating any State which may adopt emancipation before this plan shall have been acted upon, is hereby earnestly renewed. Such would only be an advance part of the plan, and the same arguments apply to both. This plan is recommended as a means not in exclusion of, but additional to, all others for restoring and preserving the National authority throughout the Union. The subject is presented exclusively in its economical aspect. The plan would, I am confident, secure peace more speedily than can be done by force alone, while it would cost, considering amounts and manner of payment and times of payment, and the amounts would be easier paid than will be the additional cost of the war if we rely solely upon force. It is most likely—very likely—that it would cost no blood at all.

The plan is proposed as permanent constitutional law. It cannot become such without the concurrence of—first, two-thirds of Congress, and afterwards three-fourths of the States. The requisite three-fourths of the States will necessarily include seven of the slave States. Their concurrence, if obtained, will give assurance of their severally adopting emancipation at no distant day upon the new constitutional terms. This assurance would end the struggle now, and save the Union forever.

I do not forget the gravity which should characterize a paper addressed to the Congress of the nation, by the Chief Magistrate of the nation, nor do I forget that some of you are my seniors, nor that many of you have more experience than I in the conduct of public affairs; yet I trust that in view of the great responsibility resting upon me, you will perceive no want of respect to yourselves in any undue earnestness I may seem to display. Is it doubted, then, that the plan I propose, if adopted, would shorten the war, and thus lessen its expenditure of money and of blood? Is it doubted that it would restore the national authority and national prosperity, and perpetuate both indefinitely? Is it doubted that we here, Congress and Executive, can secure its adoption? Will not the good people respond to a united and earnest appeal from us? Can we, can they, by any other means, so certainly or so speedily assure these vital objects? We can succeed only by concert. It is not "Can any of us imagine better?" but "Can we all do better?" Object whatsoever is possible, still the question recurs, "Can we do better?" The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew, and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Fellow Citizens—We cannot escape history.

We, of this Congress, will be remembered in spite of ourselves.

No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us.

The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation.

We say that we are for the Union. The world will not forget that while we say this, we do know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility.

In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free, honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve.

We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of the earth.

Other means may succeed. This could not fail.

The way is plain—peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will ever applaud and God must forever bless. ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Washington, Dec. 1, 1862.

THANKSGIVING SERMONS.—The services of Thanksgiving day in New York were of a highly patriotic character; but from the reports given in the papers, we are sorry to see that so few of them recognized slavery to be the great sin of the nation, or referred with glowing gratitude to the expected emancipation on the first of January. The discourse of Rev. H. W. Beecher, one of the best, was from a comparison of the condition of our country with that of the demoniac, Mark ix. 26, "And the spirit cried and rent him sore." Dr. Cheever's was a powerful argument for being wholly right, for putting nothing but the right in the last blow, and launching the whole power of the Republic against the heart of the rebellion. Mr. Sloan called upon the people to thank God for the war; for the influence it has had in destroying slavery; and for the evidences that the nation is rising to a higher sphere of moral and religious principle. Rev. H. Mattison, of the Independent Methodist Church, recounted God's mercies to us as a nation, notwithstanding our transgressions, our oppression of the Indian, and still more cruel treatment of the African, and hailed the approaching first of January, when "the trump of jubilee, whose trial notes have already been heard, will be placed once more to the lips of our Chief Magistrate, and, filled with the breath of God, ring out the righteous and final decree that slavery shall curse our land no more forever." Dr. Williams's discourse had the true ring; his subject was God's method of establishing freedom in the land. The sermons of Messrs. Tyng, Bellows, Cuyler, Hatfield, Garnett and Clark were warm and outspoken in the cause of human freedom; the rest, so far as published, show scarcely any advance beyond the old conservative platform of past years. Alas, for the flocks that are fed upon the mere husks of old doctrines, in an age when life is filled with great and glowing realities, and the voice of the Master calls us to high and holy action, by motives such as might almost awaken the sleeping dead! —*American Baptist.*

COTTON IN AFRICA.—*The Iwe Irohin*, an African news-sheet published at Abbeokuta, states that cotton has been planted this year in much larger quantities than at any previous period, and that the raw staple, in the seed, is six times more valuable than when the slave trade excluded lawful commerce. The price of slaves has increased, and was steadily advancing, notwithstanding the little demand for them, furnishing strong proof of the augmenting value of the man as a laborer.—*London A. S. Reporter.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 48 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

CONGRESS AND THE NATION.

THE session of Congress which begun on Monday last is one that cannot miss of making a deep mark on the history of the country. The day of its assembling must be forever distinguished by a Red Letter in our national Calendar, or stamped with the very blackest that ever doomed a public body to infamy. It has often been said of sessions long gone by that they were to be the most important ever held; but the importance that is to attach to this one can never be gainsaid or denied. The glory or the disgrace of their country lies in the hands of the men now gathered in the Capitol at Washington, in a sense and in a degree which no former Congress ever had or was held to have. The determination of the fate of the nation must be over and past before the next Congress will come regularly together. Besides the necessary preparation for the rebellion in the field, provision must be made to guard against the treason at home even now gloating over the prospect of the speedy virtual triumph of its friends and allies in Richmond. Davis and Lee and Stuart call for courageous and thorough action, and even more loud and bitter is the cry of the country that it be saved harmless from the hands of Wood and Brooks and Cox. With the wise help of this Congress the heart of the President may be strengthened and his hands as well to save the nation before its deadliest enemies, those of its own household, can clutch its throat with their parricidal gripe. With reasonable success in the field, backed up by wise and prudent daring in the legislature, we may see the rebellion quelled, slavery abolished, the rebel territory occupied, the beginning of a new state of things inaugurated, the reign of freedom, industry and good government replacing the destructive polity which has made all these blessings impossible in that blighted region, the establishment of the nation in the first rank of the Great Powers, and the confusion of our enemies at home and abroad, of every name and nation, and that before the Thirty-eighth Congress can have a legal existence.

The course to be pursued by the present Congress is so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. We merely state the instinctive opinions of all loyal men, everywhere, and which are doubtless held by a majority of Congress, when we lay down the inevitable programme of proceedings, if we are to go on conquering and to conquer. In the first place, Congress must, and of necessity will, sustain the President in the policy of Emancipation he has laid down as the only one that can lead to victory. Every supply that he needs, all the men and ships that he can require, will be voted. And it must be done at once and under the pressure of the Previous Question, if necessary. The time of action is short and the days of the political life of this Congress are numbered. The endeavors of the enemies within its gates will be to embarrass and delay the necessary action, so that it shall be left incomplete when the fourth of March shall "slit its thin-spun life" with the shears of destiny. The Wood factionists have proclaimed their intention of extorting an extra session of Congress from the President, as soon as the present one shall have expired, which shall compel him to revoke his proclamation and submit to such terms as the Davis Cabinet may vouchsafe to grant him. This necessity this Congress can anticipate and hinder by making every necessary appropriation and conferring every extraordinary power which the necessities of the time and the exigencies of the nation can possibly require. No crevice should be left by which the Northern traitors can mine their way into power before the moment appointed by the Constitution for their birth into the world of politics. Not that we believe that the Davis faction can command a majority in the next Congress. The Woods and the Brookses are not the Representative Men even of their own party. But that faction will be much stronger then than now, and can make much mischief if their power of doing such be not cut timely short. We cannot for a moment doubt that Congress will be diligent in this business and work while it is yet their day. And, above all, that what it does, it will do quickly. For never were moments more golden than those of the next two months.

But, in the second place in order of time, but infinitely the first in momentous importance, the imperative business of this Congress is to organize Emancipation into Law. The President has struck the first blow at the fatal cause of all our woes, and it is the main duty of Congress to follow it up with strokes which shall put it beyond the power of resuscitation. There can be no rational intelligent doubt of the power of Congress in the premises, in this present distress. The power of Congress over slavery in the States we have ever strenuously denied, up to the breaking out of this rebellion. This faith had kept us for many years from the ballot-box, because we held that every man constituted a legislator was bound not only to keep his hands off slavery there, but to provide the necessary legislation to save it harmless. But the rebellion has changed all that. Rebels have no rights of property that may not be destroyed by military necessity. The President as Commander-in-Chief has announced the existence of the necessity to destroy the right of property in men claimed by rebels. What the President may do alone, of course, the President with both Houses joined with him can do. And not only does military necessity override the rights of property of rebels, it overrides as well those rights of loyal men. Only, in this last case, the right of compensation attaches, which does not exist in the former. Over this whole field of action the three branches of the national legislature have now absolute control. Mr. William Whiting, in his admirable argument on this subject, holds that they have this power at all times. No one but concealed traitors will deny that they possess it at this time. The Constitution was made for the nation and not the nation for the Constitution, and whatever in it is incompatible with national existence can have no right to be. The Curtises and the Thomases cannot move this nation, by any head of lawyer-power they can put on, that it has tied up its own hands from defending its own life against its deadliest enemies. This work must be done by this Congress, or there will be great danger that it will never be done at all, as it should be done. Foreign nations will not wait much longer, and the expiration of this Congress without a definitive settlement of this question would be speedily followed by all the aid recognition, if not intervention, can give to the rebels.

An act of Congress, therefore, reciting the fact that slavery is the guilty cause of this rebellion, and recognizing the truth that the rebellion can only be scotched, not killed, as long as slavery is permitted to exist anywhere, and therefore enacting its abolition everywhere, in loyal as well as disloyal States, making the necessary provision for the compensation of loyal slaveholders—such an act is the clear, plain, simple, unmistakable duty of this Congress. A plain duty, but an exceeding glory as well. The members of this Congress will have an enviable place in the history of the world, if they have the wisdom and courage to do this duty and to do it thoroughly. It will strike the chill of death to the heart of the rebellion, and will bring to light the hypocrisy, if it do not silence the clamors, of our enemies abroad. When the nation has an avowed Anti-Slavery policy, and is active in carrying it out, even Bombalino or the Duke of Parma would hardly dare to array their names against it. We should have the world without with us—all that it is honorable to us to have. And we believe that we shall have with us all that is sound and honest in the Democratic party. An immense change has come over that party. Dickinson and Tremaine, Bancroft and Brownson, stand for more than Wood and Cox, although they did not prevail at the polls. The nation will stand by the President and the Congress in this action which the time demands. It will crush the rebellion, it will regenerate the South, it will multiply a hundredfold the wealth and prosperity of the nation, and so of the world, if its will be done. It will give us a Republican government such as we have never yet had, and place the United States at the head of the Great Powers of the world, in wealth, in military and naval strength, in moral and political influence. Never had a legislative body such power for good or for evil, as this Congress, at this session. The nation looks for good at its hands and not for evil.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

THE portions of the President's Message in which he discusses the question of slavery will be found in our columns this week. We have neither space nor inclination now for extended remarks. Our readers are intelligent, and may be safely left to form their own opinions as to the nature and bearings of the President's recommendations. His plan of "Compensated Emancipation," besides being in itself very objectionable, suggests, in some of its features, the suspicion that it is a shrewd device on his part to persuade Congress to embark in such legislation as, being impossible of consummation before the first of January, shall, being commenced, so change the political situation as to afford him a plausible excuse for refusing to issue the promised Proclamation of Freedom on that day. We may be, and we certainly hope we are, mistaken in our apprehensions upon this point, and that the views of *The Tribune*, as expressed below, may prove to be correct:

"We perceive no ground for the assumption of a conflict between the President's proclamation of Sept. 22d last and his Annual Message just put forth with regard to Emancipation. The two contemplate radically diverse cases, and propose to deal with them accordingly. The project of compensated gradual Emancipation embodied in the Message contemplates exclusively the case of loyal States and citizens, including those who may have been disloyal, but shall conclude to be so no longer. For these, the President presents a plan of gradual or future Emancipation, with National compensation, so adjusted as not to impose too heavy burthens on the country, while it segregates the loyal slave States and slaveholders from all community of interest or feeling with the traitorous, struggling, waning, doomed Slave Power. The nation proffers pecuniary recompense to loyal slaveholders and slave States, so that no taint of self-interest may incline them to cherish any fellow-feeling with the belligerent traitors. In short, this is the President's former proposition to the Border States, revised, enlarged and adapted to the present exigency. It is eminently a measure of conciliation and peace.

The proclamation, on the other hand, is distinctively an act of war. It is addressed to rebels, and is intended to operate on them alone; first, by dissuading them from persistence in their treason; secondly, by weakening and soon crushing them in case they insist on going ahead. They say they want peace; the President unfeignedly desires peace, and he stands ready to make it on the simple, sufficient basis of the Union and the Constitution. There is no excuse for war; there is no need of negotiation and compromise; mutual conformity to the Union and Constitution solves all difficulties, settles all differences, obviates all necessity for new stipulations.

"But, suppose the Confederate States persist in rebellion and civil war—what then?

"Then, says the President, I shall proceed, on the 1st of January next, to proclaim liberty to your slaves, and I hereby direct all the military and naval officers of the Union to respect and enforce such freedom. The Republic must not die—it must not be broken into fragments—its integrity must be preserved—its life must be saved. All this I can achieve at the expense of your slavery; and I shall proceed to do it. Should you suffer therefrom, you will have none to blame but yourselves."

We trust that Congress, while treating the President with due respect, will refuse to endorse his scheme, and confine itself to the legislation necessary for the vigorous prosecution of the war and the annihilation of the diabolical system which is at once the source and mainspring of the Rebellion.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

TRIBUTE TO THE LOYALTY AND DEVOTION OF THE NEGRO.

WHILE it is to be regretted that the President did not, in his Message, reaffirm and vindicate his proclamation of September 22, and pay the tribute justly due to the negroes for their loyalty and the timely and important aid they have given to the Union cause, we are glad to find that the Secretary of War, in his Report, has spoken his mind on the question in terms which do credit to his head and heart. From the abstract in the daily journals we copy these important paragraphs:

"It will be seen that the Quartermaster's Department, upon which, under the law of the 17th of July providing for the employment of colored persons, the charge of such persons is chiefly imposed, has not found itself burdened with their care, but that it has, on the contrary, derived valuable aid from their labor, and in a considerable portion of its field of operations, has thus far suffered from a scant rather than from too great a supply of such labor.

"In Louisiana where, at one time, there were apprehensions of embarrassment from the number of refugees, the reserve of a tract of rich land along the railroad to Berwick's Bay opens up a territory in which many thousands can be profitably employed if placed under proper regulation and control. At Port Royal, such persons have been extensively employed in the works of the Quartermaster's Department and in cultivating some thousands of acres of the Sea Islands of the coast, the products of which are used in the support of themselves and families. In the operations of the army on the James River and upon the Potomac, in the fortifications of Washington, and as laborers, teamsters, hostlers, and in the landing and shipping of stores they have been of great service and the demand for their labor has exceeded the supply available.

"No aphorism, says the Secretary, is more universally received than that the sole object of a just war is to make the enemy feel the evils of his injustice, and by his sufferings amend his ways, and he must therefore be attacked in most accessible quarters. The power of the rebels rests upon their peculiar system of labor, which keeps laborers on their plantations, to support owners who are devoting their time and strength to destroy our armies and destroy our government. Whenever that system is in hostility to the government, it is the duty of those conducting the war to strike down the system, and turn against the rebels the productive power that upholds the insurrection. Rightly organized in the recovered territory, the laborers of the rebels will not only aid in holding fortified positions, but their labors will, as in India, free the white soldier from the most unwholesome exposure of the South. They will cultivate the corn and forage which will feed our cavalry and artillery horses, and save the country a portion of the enormous burden now attending their purchase and transportation from the North. The cultivation would have been of greater advantage to us on the south-eastern coast than even that of the great staple of the Sea Islands.

"In conclusion, the Secretary says, the greater part of the whole country, which formerly produced the Sea Island cotton is now thoroughly restored to the Union—the laborers are there, the soil and climate; it needs only assurance of protection to revive the cultivation of the staple, as well as to produce vast quantities of corn and forage for our troops. Since this war must be conducted by marches, and battles, and sieges, why neglect the best means to make them successful, and their results permanent? It is worthy of notice that thus far the portions of territory which we have recovered, and must firmly hold, are precisely those in which the greatest proportion of colored men are found. By their assistance armies will be permanent to operate in and occupy the country, and in labor for the army, in raising its and their own supplies, full occupation can be given them; and with this there will be neither occasion nor temptation to them to emigrate to a northern and less congenial climate. Judging by experience, no colored man will leave his home in the South, if protected in that home. All possibility of competition from negro labor in the North is avoided in giving colored men protection and employment upon the soil which they have thus far cultivated, the right to which has been vacated by the original proprietors, deeply involved in the crimes of treason and rebellion. No great territory has been permanently reduced without depriving the leaders of the people of their laurels and property. It is these that give power and influence. Few men have the commanding genius and talent to exerise dangerous influence over their fellow-men, without the adventitious aid of money and property. By striking down this system of compulsory labor, which enables the leaders of rebellion to control the resources of the people, the rebellion would die of itself. Under no circumstance has any disposition to servile insurrection been exhibited by the colored people in any Southern State, while a strong loyalty to the Federal government has been displayed on every occasion, and against every discouragement. By the means suggested, the rebellion may be disarmed and subdued swiftly and effectually, and the lives of our own people saved from slaughter on the battle-field. By the occupation

gia. While loading at one place Capt. Janes's Company was attacked by a rebel company, and a sharp engagement ensued. The rebels were routed with considerable loss. Their fire was returned with great vigor by the colored soldiers, without loss. Three only were wounded, one seriously. This regiment has already settled the question whether the blacks will fight, and they may yet act a most important part in this great contest.

"Capt. T. W. Higginson of Worcester, Mass., the popular writer and lecturer, has accepted the Colonelcy of the regiment and has assumed command. The field and staff officers are Col.. T. W. Higginson, of Worcester, Mass.; Lieut.-Col. L. Billings, of Concord, N. H.; Major J. D. Strong, of New York; Adjutant Dewhurst, of Boston, Mass.; Surgeon —— ——; Chaplain J. H. Fowler, of Cambridge, Mass."

PERSONAL.

The St. Louis *Evening News* announces by authority that Gen. F. P. Blair will not become a candidate for the United States Senate in any event.

Rev. W. H. Hoisington, "the blind preacher," is in Wisconsin, delivering lectures on Ancient Egypt. The Baraboo *Republican* speaks in commendatory terms of his labors in that place.

Rev. W. H. Channing, having been appointed by the President to the Chaplaincy of the Stanton Hospital in Washington, has generously relinquished a portion of his salary as pastor of the Unitarian Church, at the same time continuing to perform pastoral duties.

It is confidently asserted that Eli Thayer will shortly be appointed Military Governor of Florida, and will probably be directed immediately to commence operations in the colonization plan for repeopling that State with loyal white inhabitants.

Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin, has, as yet, been unable to take his seat at Washington. He is ill with malignant fever, which he is supposed to have contracted while nursing his son, who died of the same disease on the 10th of August last. Since that time four other members of his family have been sick with the same complaint.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson has, it is said, accepted the Colonelcy of the First South Carolina Colored Regiment. The appointment is one eminently "fit to be made." Mr. Higginson has a natural aptitude for military leadership as well as a hearty appreciation of the negro character, and will, we doubt not, command the respect and devotion of his soldiers.

It seems to be settled that Caleb B. Smith will shortly resign his position as Secretary of the Interior to accept the vacant District Judgeship in Indiana; and in some circles it is asserted that Senator Browning, of Illinois, will succeed to the vacancy thus created. We certainly hope that no such fossil as Browning will obtain a seat in the Cabinet. Robert Dale Owen would be an excellent man for the place.

Thurlow Weed expects to go to Europe on a secret mission from our government about Dec. 10. *The Independent* well says: "It is a misfortune and a discredit to this nation that it must be represented abroad by one whose only merits are the more than questionable ones of his success in manœuvreing the dirty department of New York State politics. It is as if England should send the whipper-in of the Ministerial party to represent it at a foreign court." Mr. Weed is, of course, indebted for his appointment to Gov. Seward.

The official vote for member of Congress in the St. Louis district, Missouri, gives Blair 153 majority over Knox, and announces the success of the whole radical emancipation ticket. The long delay in coming to a decision was caused by waiting for the soldiers' vote, which it was impossible to obtain sooner. Knox, we suppose, will contest the seat. Blair was a member of the present Congress, but has resigned his seat in order to take command of a brigade at Helena, Ark. Henry T. Blow, Jr., Representative elect to the next Congress from the IId St. Louis District, has been asked to run as the emancipation candidate in Gen. Blair's place, but declines for private reasons.

William A. Jackson, Jeff. Davis's coachman, has arrived safely in London. George Thompson, in a letter to the editor of *The Liberator*, says:

"For your sake, as well as for his own, I welcomed the fugitive from Virginia, and he was soon seated by a good fire in my study, relating to me, while he took his breakfast, his adventures, both as a slave and a freeman. From 8 a.m. till 2 p.m. I was engaged in taking notes of his history from his birth until his reaching my dwelling. While I was attending a public meeting in the evening, Jackson was in my study writing to you, and I enclose the result of his three hours' cogitation. I shall do the best I can to obtain for him opportunities of addressing the people of this country. It has yet to be proved whether there exists a sufficient amount of curiosity to draw the people out to hear him. He will, however, derive benefit from his sojourn here, and, if I may judge from what I have seen of him, there will be no lack of either capacity or disposition to improve his advantages. He will remain my guest for the present, and Mrs. Thompson and my daughter Edith will have sincere pleasure in being his preceptors."

Sarah E. Wall, of Worcester, Mass., has addressed a letter to the editor of *The Daily Spy*, giving as her reasons for refusal for four years to pay taxes, the 10th article in the Bill of Rights—which declares that "no part of the property of any individual can with justice be taken from him, or applied to public uses, without his own consent, or that of the representative body of the people." She proceeds as follows:

"There never was a government yet so unselfish as to relinquish the exercise of arbitrary power until it was resisted, and we cannot expect to be spared the sacrifices attending every class or race which has successively gained equal right before the law. If we petition the Legislature, they deem it 'inexpedient to legislate.'

"If Massachusetts wants my money voluntarily given, she can have it by striking one word from two clauses of her State Constitution. So long as she deems it 'inexpedient' to do that, I deem it 'inexpedient' to pay taxes, and she will get them only by process of law."

We copy the following paragraph from *The Liberator* of last week:

"On Sunday last, Mr. Weld again addressed the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston, giving an excellent discourse on Truth. His admirable exposure, a fortnight before, of the Lying Pretences of the Pro-Slavery Conspirators, had so made known the rare powers of the speaker as to attract a large audience, on this occasion. There is reason to hope that he may again, before many weeks, be induced to speak there, and many have expressed the wish that he would discourse on the duties of the present hour, a subject which no man could handle better, and which is now of preeminent importance. Mr. Weld's speech and manner are in the highest degree impressive. Both his thought and style evince high culture, yet refinement has not taught him to discard energy of expression, nor the most thorough plainness of speech. He is able to interest and instruct any audience, whether in city or country, and though his discourse is read, it receives such aid from voice, countenance and gesture, as to produce the effect of an animated extemporaneous speech. But every town in the State ought to hear one who understands so well, and describes with such moving eloquence, the dangers and the duties of this critical period.—C. K. W."

The Boston correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, in his last week's letter, says: "Owen Lovejoy gave a very entertaining lecture before the Fraternity last night. It was written, and I judge from the big pile of paper and the loose chirography, that the paper famine had not reached Washington when Lovejoy left. But the speaker was not confined to his notes, as Gen. Wilson was in his introductory lecture, and so he made an interesting and lively speech. He has, however, a very awkward gesticulation—that is holding his hand, sometimes both hands, above his head, and shaking it or them very vehemently for a long time. Mr. Everett's quivering finger is very well, but this protracted quiver of the whole hand is bad. Lovejoy is a politician grafted on a preacher, and he is evidently good in both professions. He is an earnest Abolitionist, and not ashamed of the name; full of wit and humor and abounding in off-hand hits which keep his audience good natured. *The Post* had hit him an unamiable slap in the morning, and Lovejoy's repartees, which were frequent and unexpected, as well as good, brought down the house."

Of the Secretary of War the Washington correspondent of the Springfield *Republican* says: "He has been compelled to do something to satisfy public opinion respecting his summary arrests. He is undoubtedly the unpopular member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, though he has been very useful in his way. Whether he has done good enough to pay for the harm he has done, it would require some hard thinking to decide. The scales I think would balance. He has done a good deal of good, and a good deal of harm. His manners are very harsh and overbearing towards people he does not like. This is unfortunate for him, for he innocently offends in his intercourse with his fellow-men. His agent in making the worst class of arrests, Baker, is another coarse, offensive man, who does things harshly. The American people will not endure such outrages against personal liberty as both these men have been guilty of, as a permanency, and if the Republican party backs up such acts, it will go to perdition itself. The arrest of traitors is right, but the reckless arrests of loyal people will not long be endured in the free States, and Mr. Stanton at last perceives this fact, and acts accordingly."

Harriet Beecher Stowe, and her sister, Mrs. Hooker of Hartford, are in Washington. The fact is made the occasion, by the correspondent of the Springfield *Republican*, of the following bit of gossip:

"I hear that Mrs. Stowe called on Mrs. Lincoln, when she was in Boston (perhaps it was in New York), and was most cordially received, and that the two ladies are now on very friendly terms. There has been a popular belief that Mrs. Lincoln is pro-slavery in her views and prejudices. Perhaps this was so at the beginning of the war, but there is every reason to suppose that the war has had the same effect upon Mrs. Lincoln that it has had upon the Administration and the people generally. Some of her most intimate friends are the strongest anti-slavery men in the country. Charles Sumner, Schuyler Colfax, and many other people of the same class, know her well, and now among her list of cordial friends, it is said, we may write the name of Mrs. Stowe. This is gossip, I know, and some people think it is dreadful to write a bit of gossip about great people, but I happen to know that newspaper readers like to read such matter, and what is the harm, so that one is good-natured and adheres to the truth?"

The Progressive Age, published at Hopedale, Mass., in reference to the statements in various journals respecting the action of the people of that place in the recent election, publishes the following statements:

"It is not true that the majority of the inhabitants of this place, at present, are strictly non-resistants; nor is it true that those who are refuse to vote for a pro-slavery any more than a pro-*war* compact; nor is it true, as is implied, that those who went to the polls are members of the 'Hopedale Community.' Some of them were once members, but have withdrawn. Others are 'outsiders,' the majority of whom never have accepted the peace-doctrine; a few are non-resistants (the writer for one) and did not vote. But it is undoubtedly true that the Republican triumph in Milford is partly the result of the moral position and progressive ideas of Hopedale.

"A similar 'slander,' as we learn from our friend J. A. Howland, came out in the Worcester *Daily Spy*, in which it is gravely said, that 'the Hopedale people, who have not been given to voting for the last twenty or thirty years, went to the polls and gave their support unanimously to the Republican candidates.' Such statements may arise from the mistaken idea that all residents of this village are members of the 'Community.'—B. J. B."

Our readers have not forgotten William Craft, the fugitive slave who ran away from Georgia with his wife in the Winter of 1848-9—the wife disguised as a sick young man travelling North for his health, and the husband acting as servant of the invalid! The couple went to England, where they soon found friends, means of education, and business that gave them an honorable livelihood. We now hear of Mr. Craft very unexpectedly as contemplating a missionary expedition to Dahomey. Our authority is the London *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (November number), from which we copy as follows:

"We regret that pressure of other matter prevents our giving, in the present number, the report of a meeting which was held at the residence of Dr. Hodgkin, at the close of July last, to promote a mission to Dahomey. The mission*ary*, in the present instance, is Mr. William Craft, whose romantic history and remarkable escape, with his wife, from slavery, are notorious items of contemporaneous anti-slavery history. Since his residence in this country, Mr. Craft has acquired the esteem and confidence of a large circle, and his many friends are now solicited to promote the project he has formed of going to Dahomey, on a peaceful mission to the king. His purpose is fully set forth in the statement he read at Dr. Hodgkin's, on the occasion of the meeting already referred to.

"It is now eight months since we first learned that Mr. Craft, deeply affected by the recital of the atrocities perpetrated at the annual custom of the Dahomians, became impressed with the conviction that it was his duty, as a Christian African, to undertake a mission to the King of Dahomey, with a view to endeavor to induce him, by friendly remonstrance and representation, to relinquish the 'custom,' and to discontinue slave-trading. The design was favorably entertained by the few persons to whom Mr. Craft then submitted it, in its crude form, and they encouraged him to proceed. He has since matured his plans, and we are asked to further the appeal he makes for funds to carry them out.

"While we earnestly recommend that the British government should send a special commissioner to the King of Dahomey, direct from the Queen, to confer, and, if possible, treat with him for the abolition of slave-trading from his dominions, and of the 'annual custom,' we gladly encourage the individual effort of an earnest, single-minded man like William Craft, whose motives command our unqualified respect. If he should fail in accomplishing all he desires, he may, nevertheless, achieve something, and pave the way for such a commission as we are of opinion it is the duty of the government to send out. His good words may fall, like the seed by the wayside, and germinate and bear fruit, which others may gather, or he may have, himself, the satisfaction of reaping his own harvest, in the form of peaceable and friendly assurances from the King, that he is willing and ready 'to hold palaver with a man, with a head, who shall come from the Queen of England.'

"Looking, therefore, first, at the impulse which has prompted William Craft to undertake this mission; secondly, at his motives and purpose; and, thirdly, at the means he contemplates employing, he has our sincerest wishes for his success; and we shall feel a real pleasure in promoting his plans to the utmost extent of our ability."

THE AMERICAN CAUSE IN ENGLAND.—*The Liberator* publishes a private letter from GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., dated London, Nov. 7, from which we copy as follows:

"And now what can I say of the conflicts through which you are passing? What can I say of my own country, and the attitude which our journals and public men have assumed in reference to your great struggle? All through the contest, *my* sympathies have been with the true friends of liberty at the North. What I could do, I have done, to correct public sentiment. As far as my strength would permit me, I have written and spoken with a view to the enlightenment of the public mind on the real merits of the question at issue. Towards the close of last year, and at the beginning of the present, I delivered a large number of lectures in Lancashire and Yorkshire, including eight in the city of Manchester (six of which were in the Free Trade Hall). I also gave lectures in Edinburg, Glasgow, and elsewhere in Scotland. I formally proposed to the Union Americans in London to give the whole of my time, *gratuitously*, to the work of agitation in this country, if they would raise a fund for the payment of the necessary expenses; but there was no response. But, alas! the only agency they employed was the London *American*, which has done far more harm than good to their cause, by being the vehicle for the envenomed outpourings of G. F. Train, and the slanderous attacks upon the Abolitionists of their New York correspondent. Again, the Committee of the B. and F. Anti-Slavery Society has done nothing, and is only now thinking of saying a good word in behalf of the proclamation. Thus, I have stood alone. *The Star* and *Daily News* have done good service among the daily London papers; and *The Spectator* and *Dial*, among the weekly journals, have promulgated sound views; but what are these among the multitude of papers that have gone wrong? The tenor of my public addresses may be judged of by a report of one of my recent lectures, which I enclose."

The Liberator prints the report of the lecture of Mr. Thompson, alluded to in the above extract. We need not say that it is admirably adapted to enlighten the people of Great Britain in respect to the issues involved in the great struggle between the North and the South, and that it entitles Mr. Thompson to the gratitude of every friend of freedom in this country.

FOR GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION.—The valuable and still timely tract, by Mrs. L. Maria Child, entitled, "The Right Way the Safe Way, proved by Emancipation in the British West Indies, and elsewhere" (108 pages), will be sent by mail to any person requesting it, and enclosing *six cents* in undefaced postage stamps. Address SAMUEL MAY, Jr., 221 *Washington street, Boston.*

☞ A few remaining copies of the American Anti-Slavery Society's last Report, "The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year," will be sent in the same way, on the receipt of the postage, viz., *fourteen cents.*

"CONTRABAND" FESTIVAL IN WASHINGTON.—The friends of freedom in Washington gave a festival to the "Contrabanda" on Thanksgiving day. Rev. W. H. Channing presided, and among the notabilities present were Senator Pomeroy, Rev. John Pierpont, Mrs. H. B. Stowe and others. The exercises consisted of the discussion of a plentiful dinner, singing, prayer and speeches. The principal address was by Senator Pomeroy, who insisted that men had no more right to be slave than to make slave, and thought the day of universal freedom at hand.

THE DEATH OF DANIEL ANTHONY.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Nov. 29, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE friends of universal freedom and impartial justice have just lost a most valuable and devoted coadjutor in the death of DANIEL ANTHONY, of this city, the father of our esteemed friend Susan B. Anthony, and of Col. D. R. Anthony, of Kansas.

He was a man of distinguished personal integrity, and of rare traits of character. Of Quaker education, he outgrew the limits of mere sectarian association, and gave himself unreservedly to world-wide humanity. He was among the earliest advocates of Temperance, and as early as 1827 organized a Temperance Society in Washington County, N. Y., which proved an instrumentality of great good.

Subsequently he became interested in the anti-slavery cause, and for a long series of years he has been an earnest, steadfast friend of the enslaved and persecuted colored race. No higher tribute can be accorded to any one than to say that he was emphatically the colored man's friend.

He was also much interested in the Woman's Rights movement. He saw very clearly and felt keenly the injustice of the many disabilities growing out of the position of legal inferiority assigned to woman. In an unostentatious way he did much by his personal efforts to advance the interests of this comprehensive human rights cause, and gave an invaluable moral support and encouragement to her who inherits his name, in the good works by which she is widely known and as highly esteemed.

He had an active, independent mind, and vigorously grappled with the problems of life. He acknowledged supreme authority neither in bishop nor book, only in the revelations of the "inner light" in his own soul.

Unobtrusive in manner, he was best and truly known only to those nearest him in social and friendly relations. He was a loving, devoted husband, an affectionate father, and a true friend. From his cherished fireside, and his accustomed social circle, to which he imparted much of life and interest as a most genial companion, he will indeed be greatly missed.

The funeral services were held this morning at his late residence, a large assemblage of relatives and sympathizing friends being present. The exercises were conducted very impressively by Rev. Samuel J. May. Fitting and appropriate tributes to the memory of the deceased were also given by Frederick Douglass, George W. Clark and Aaron M. Powell. His memory will ever be precious to us, and in his living exemplification of rare personal merit, and beautiful simplicity, he has left a rich legacy to all who knew him.

A. M. P.

Proceedings of Congress.

BOTH Houses of Congress convened on Monday at 12 o'clock. The Senate was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Sunderland, Chaplain, who, in the course of his invocation, uttered these words: "We rejoice in that proclamation which, as we hope, has begun to inspire some salutary fear in the rebels of the South, as well as also to outreach the false and lying prophets of the North. We rejoice in that terrible fiery furnace through which we are passing to test the true spirit of the people, and the real sentiments of those who have so long and so loudly cried out for the extinction of human bondage. We pray that Thou wilt continue to uncover on the one hand the cruelties of mankind's oppressors, and on the other the insincerity of their philanthropy, and when our wounds and our wretchedness shall have been fully probed, we pray, gracious God, for thy cleansing, and healing, and sanctifying power; through Jesus Christ, our Lord." Beyond the reception of the President's Message no business of importance was transacted.

The House was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Stockton, Chaplain, who referred to slavery in these words: "Believing more profoundly that Thou art superintending all its forms and all its issues, and bringing all things to Thy own plans, and that Thou wilt ultimately accomplish Thy will in the promotion of the best interests of our country and of the whole world, we thank Thee for the brightening prospects for the liberty of the slave—not the result of our own goodness and wisdom, but, as we trust, of Thy gracious and urgent ordination. We pray for the entire abolition of the system which has involved us in so much sin, and sorrow, and shame, and which would be sure if continued to increase our guilt and grief forever. Yet, O Father, our common Father, we most earnestly beseech Thee of Thy infinite mercy to grant that this end may be secured, not by violence, with blood and tears and helpless cries of pain, but by repentance and faith and prudence, by forbearance and wisdom and love, with mutual concessions and consent and cooperation, followed by reconciliation and a restored Union, by perpetual peace and joy."

A resolution, offered by Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, directing the Judiciary Committee to report by what authority the Postmaster-General excludes newspapers from the mails, was adopted. Mr. Cox, of Ohio, offered a preamble and resolutions relating to arbitrary political arrests, condemning them, and directing that they shall not be hereafter made. They were laid on the table by a vote of 80 to 40. Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, offered a resolution requesting the President to inform the House what citizens of Illinois are now confined as political prisoners, and what are the charges against them. On motion of Mr. Lovejoy it was laid on the table, 74 to 40.

The President's message was received and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

The proceedings on Tuesday were unimportant, except as an indication of the policy of the opposition. Garrett Davis of Ky. opened the campaign on the part of the Border State politicians in the Senate, by the introduction of a resolution recommending all the States to elect delegates equal to their Congressional representation, to meet in convention in Louisville, Ky., on the first Monday in April next, to take into consideration the condition of the United States, and the proper means for the restoration of the Union, and that the State Legislatures take action on the subject at the earliest practicable day. Mr. Davis will call up the resolution as soon as he can get the floor, and advocate its passage in an elaborate speech. This movement is regarded as one of great significance, and furnishes the key to the policy of the Opposition during the session.

Mr. Powell of Ky. offered a resolution, which was laid over, asking for information relative to the arrest and confinement of citizens of Kentucky. It is evident that the opposition in both Houses regard this subject of arrests as a sort of mine out of which, with diligence and industry, much political capital can be successfully wrought.

THE SOUTHERN CROSS.—The Rev. Mansfield French has, we understand, purchased a press, type and stock of paper for the furnishing of the printing-office of *The Southern Cross*, a newspaper about to be published in South Carolina. It is expected that *The Southern Cross* will be raised in Charleston early in January.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.—Our readers will be disappointed in not finding in our columns this week a letter from our faithful Washington correspondent. Temporary illness is the reason of his silence. We hope to hear from him again next week.

TESTIMONIAL TO HENRY WARD BEECHER.—On Thanksgiving night, while the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher was hospitably entertaining a newly-arrived Maine regiment, otherwise uncared for, at his church, placing pillows under the head of the sick, food before the mouths of the hungry, and beds at the feet of the wearied, the friends of free speech, blackguards' rights and conservative principles, paid him a characteristic and an essentially law-and-order compliment. Knowing the house to be closed, and veiled from the sight of the one policeman who guards the entire Heights, a select party of scoundrels went to his residence and smeared the front of it with lampblack, petroleum oil, liquid nastiness, and oppressively odorous filth. The house, being of brown stone, opened its generous pores, and granted hospitality to it all. It is doubtful, if even at great expense, the front can be restored, but we should imagine the citizens of Brooklyn would prefer infinitely to build anew the house than permit an evidence so glaring to remain as an exponent of the inconceivably dirty people who are their fellow-residents. Mr. Beecher's neighbor, a cotton merchant, the husband of a Southern woman, was unfortunate in his choice of a location, for he has suffered from the vandal hands of Mr. Beecher's enemies, who carelessly sprinkled the front of his house with the surplus of their nastiness. Such meanness is too contemptible for the smallest-souled rebel in existence.—*N. Y. Times.*

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News.

Gen. Burnside still halts this side of the Rappahannock. Reports as to his plans are conflicting, but it is believed that he will soon fight a great battle.

We have intelligence from Falmouth that the rebels have been attempting to post pickets near our lines on the right, but that they were driven back by a judicious display of force, of cavalry and infantry. The rebel force was not large, and did not offer to dispute the ground.

The Boston *Traveller* learns, upon good authority, that the expedition of Gen. Banks will certainly sail from New York during the present week. The vessels will touch at Fortress Monroe, where a large addition to the force will immediately join it, the whole making one of the most powerful armadas which has left for the South since the war commenced. The total number of troops with Banks is estimated at over 40,000, while neither at Port Royal or in North Carolina did the military force exceed 20,000 men.

We have advices from Newbern, N. C., to the 24th ult. From *The Progress*, we learn that the gunboat Ellis recently made a reconnoissance in New Topsail Inlet, within twelve miles of Wilmington, and destroyed some very extensive salt-works, which were producing 500 bushels per day.

The Nashville *Union* of Nov. 27 says: "Sixty odd paroled rebel officers and soldiers, who have been in our city for some time, went to the Provost-Marshal, yesterday, and took the oath of allegiance. We learn that numbers of our citizens who have hitherto been disloyal are also taking the oath. They evidently regard the rebel cause as a sinking ship, which all wise men will leave to its fate."

On the 20th ult., Gen. Blunt, after a forced march with his division, attacked and routed 8,000 rebels at Cane Hill, Ark. The battle lasted several hours, and our victory was complete. Sixty rebels were killed and a proportionate number wounded. Gen. Blunt thinks the rebels will not again venture North of the Boston Mountains this Winter.

The War Department has caused the arrest of Maj. Spaulding of the 50th New York Engineer Volunteers, and the other officers who were with him in the recent transportation of the pontoon train from Washington to Falmouth, Va. It is alleged that Maj. Spaulding started with the train two and a-half days later than he should have started, and was five days on the road longer than was necessary.

The Army and the Negroes.

EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

ANOTHER SUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION.—Col. Beard makes the following official report to Brig.-Gen. Saxton:

"BEAUFORT, S. C., November 22, 1862.

"GENERAL: I have the honor to report that, as directed by you, I proceeded on the 13th inst., on the United States Steamer Darlington, with one hundred and sixty of the First South Carolina Volunteers (colored regiment), in quest of lumber and other articles needed for the Department. The steamer Ben. Deford, ordered by you to report to me at Doboy Sound, did not, owing to heavy fogs and adverse winds, reach that point until the 19th inst. On the 18th, accompanied by the United States gunboat Madgie, I proceeded to the mills located on Doboy river, Georgia. On reaching the mill I found it necessary to reconnoitre the land adjacent thereto. To do this it was needful to cross a narrow causeway leading from the mill through a swamp to the main high land—a distance of about four hundred and fifty yards. This high land was heavily wooded, except on the summit, which was cleared and occupied with houses. My men—thirty-four in number—had no sooner passed across the causeway and through the woods to the clearing beyond, than they were fired on by the enemy, who were posted in the thicket in front and on both sides. On the first fire one man was dangerously wounded, and a momentary panic seized the men, but it was only momentary. They speedily rallied and opened a brisk fire on the places occupied by the concealed enemy. This fire they kept up with great regularity and coolness until ordered by me to retire to the end of the causeway. They retired, firing as they went with a slowness and deliberateness that could not have been surpassed by veteran troops. Three others were severely wounded while they were retiring. When my men reached the end of the causeway I had the bow gun of the Darlington directed on the woods, after which the fire of the enemy ceased, though numbers of them were seen during the days and nights we remained. I succeeded in loading the steamers Ben Deford and Darlington with from 200,000 to 300,000 feet of superior boards and planks, besides securing a number of circular and other saws, belting, corn mills and other property, which I was directed by you to obtain for the use of your Department.

"When it is remembered that those men never had arms in their hands until four days before they started for the expedition, I think you cannot fail to give them great praise for standing a galling fire from a concealed enemy so bravely; for holding the causeways referred to during the two days and nights required for loading two large steamers with valuable property in the face of an enemy. To do this my men worked day and night without interruption; and, though short of provisions, I heard not a murmur. On the last expedition the fact was developed that colored men would fight behind barricades; this time they have proved by their heroism that they will fight in the open field. Capt. Trowbridge aided me greatly. Capt. Crandell, of the Darlington, I found a trifling, childish pest. Capt. Meriam, of the gunboat Madgie, rendered me valuable assistance. I cannot forbear to make honorable mention of Capt. Hallett, of the steamer Ben. Deford. With a man of less nerve and less capacity I would not have dared to take so large a steamer to such a place. Hence I could not have obtained so valuable a cargo. I have the honor to be, General, very respectfully your obedient servant,

"OLIVER T. BEARD,

"Lieutenant-Colonel Forty-eighth N. Y. S. V."

THE BLACKS IN THE DISTRICT OF LAFOURCHE.—The New Orleans correspondent of *The Times*, writing Nov. 19, says:

"The news from the 'Lafourche country,' while it is entirely without especial, or rather sensation interest, has its point of especial observation. The district of country alluded to is one of the richest in agricultural wealth, not only in this State, but probably the richest in some respects of any spot of the same size in the world. The wealth, however, consists almost entirely of sugar plantations and negroes, but as time has rolled on, the planters have, in long years of prosperity, by accretion, as it were, possessed themselves, in many instances, of a sort of barbaric splendor, illustrated by rich furniture and costly equipages. These things, with their large residences, in most instances, were precipitately abandoned the moment our forces defeated the enemy at Labadieville, and the consequence was, that hundreds of negroes, besotted by the most severe system of slavery, were in a moment left to themselves, and in a delirium of excitement they first threw themselves, in an ecstacy of joy, on their knees, and 'bressed God that Massa Linkum had come,' and then, as semi-civilized people would naturally do, they commenced indulging in all sorts of excesses, the first fruits of their unrestricted liberty.

"The negroes, by the way, were perfectly quiet until our soldiers obtained a complete victory over the rebel troops; in fact, up to that time, no one would have suspected they were not all of them the faithful or happy beings we see pictured in those fanciful costumes, entitled 'Southside Views of Slavery.' But the moment the butternut colored troops of this State, or the hang-dog looking Texan Rangers skedaddled, the negroes threw off all disguise, and commenced enjoying their regenerated condition with a looseness that was both melancholy and ridiculous. The first demonstration was of the English fashion in this, they preferred the most strict neutrality, as one of them said, 'God knows that we havn't took side at all, massa, but just tended to our business.' But unlike the English, they are not acting the part of hypocrites by sympathizing with our enemies, for they soon became partisans, and many, the moment it was safe, openly declared 'dat dey were now on de North'n side. They then went deliberately at work, and intelligently gave our troops all the information they could desire, of the character of the country, the roads and outlets, the number of troops 'below and beyond,' and a very correct list of all the property of any value open to view, or covertly concealed. After the battle of 'Georgia Landing,' they openly and boldly seceded from their masters, and went over body and rags to the Nationals, and then by thousands packed up what valuables they could carry or move off the plantations. They now show their gratitude in the most intense desire to do something for their new friends; there was not a private soldier who did not have a dozen volunteer and most submissive servants, while the officers had fifty apiece at their command. Such a motley crowd never before assembled at the bugle call, or followed in the footsteps of a victorious army. As things progressed, social chaos came again; negroes, horses, mules, private carriages, old and new waggons, dilapidated carts, tapestry carpets, rich furniture, Sevres China, pots and kettles—all mingled in an inextricable mass of confusion, on the side of the bayou opposite to the National camp—and then, amid waste and wantonness, the escaped contrabands held high carnival. Feasting on chickens, turkeys, hogs and fat cattle, a few days ago the sacred property of their lordly and defiant masters, meantime occupying their leisure time with their fiercest prayer-meetings, in which they pray vociferously for 'Massa Linkum,' and destruction to the 'perillas' (guerillas) and success to the Northern army, and then ask for discomfiture on their former task masters, whom, among other rhetorical figures, they liken unto so many frogs sitting on a log, with a big alligator (the United States army) that has come along and gobbled up some, and run 'de res into de bayou, bress God.' To the careless and reckless soldiers, the scene is one of intense fun, and already the wits among them indulge in all sorts of negro imitations that would make Geo. Christy die with envy. To the thoughtful all this has a different effect, for it suggests how much suffering is to follow among the innocent and misguided of the deceived masters, and equally, but in another way, deluded slaves—the social system of the South is broken up—the past is history—the future how difficult to comprehend."

CONDITION OF PLANTERS AND PLANTATIONS.—A letter to *The Tribune* from Camp Opelousas, 25 miles from New Orleans dated Nov. 14, says:

A scouting party, last night, brought into camp 50 or 60 negroes, of different ages and sizes, who have just emerged from a state of bondage to freedom. The transition is sudden and great; but whether the change will prove to be an actual curse to them or a blessing is a question which time alone can determine. The once wealthy masters look woe-bogone, as if they felt that the day of doom had come. The plantations are many of them almost entirely deserted. Some of the slaves go to the city, to be enlisted as soldiers. Some are willing to work on the plantations in saving the sugar crops, at $10 per month, and some may be seen hanging about the several military camps. From many of the plantations the masters and mistresses are gone, having retreated with their army and guerilla bands beyond our lines, to await, probably, the day—never to come—when they shall retake this rich country and be restored to their possessions. Such is their infatuation, that every man among them we converse with seems possessed of the belief that the Yankees will yet be driven out of this country, and the Confederate government be established. I have never before seen such a striking verification of the old heathen saying, "*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.*"

Yesterday, our Colonel detailed a company of men, with an officer, to go between 30 and 40 miles from here, for the purpose of taking possession of two large plantations, just confiscated, having a considerable quantity of sugar on them. By this act, 200 or 300 slaves are emancipated, whose condition heretofore, certainly, has been worse than that of the serfs of Russia.

Allow me to say that, in my view, the government has now got the bull by the horns, and it will not take long to effect his destruction. It is to be regretted that the government did not do this long ago, for then he could not have done us much harm, and the war would soon have been brought to a close. I have resided in the Southern States ever since I was a grown man, and I am now gray-headed; and therefore, at the commencement of this war, I was not an Abolitionist. But when these States seceded, and their batteries were actually opened on Fort Sumter, I knew that slavery was doomed, and from that day I have been an Abolitionist. I do not feel myself at liberty to misinterpret and misapply the plain teachings of Providence. All Southern men with whom I converse, who are for the Union, entertain similar views with myself. It is absurd to talk of Conservatism now. You will find Jack Hamilton a pretty good exponent of the Union feeling in these States. Of all traitors against this great and good government, Northern traitors are the basest; for they are without excuse, having no slaves to lose. If such men as Davis, Slidell, Yancey, and others, deserve to be decapitated, what punishment ought to be inflicted on Ben. Wood, John Van Buren, and their confreres?

S. A. H.

A CONTRABAND AND HIS DYING MASTER.—A letter from La Grange, Tenn., in the St. Louis *Democrat*, relates the following incident:

"A rather curious and affecting incident occurred yesterday in connection with the late skirmish. Lieut. Claiborne, one of the rebel prisoners captured, was brought in severely wounded. Yesterday, when it was said that he could not live much longer, a rather intelligent-looking fellow, about two-thirds white, who had followed our army from Bolivar, and who was out with the reconnoitreing force and saw the fight, asked permission to see Claiborne. When questioned as to what he wanted, he said that Lieut. Claiborne was his master once, that he felt kindly toward him, and was willing to do anything he could for him, and if necessary, he would stay and attend to him until he either died or got better.

"The man was admitted. Claiborne's eye, though it was already beginning to be hazy with approaching death, brightened the moment it fell on him; his joy at seeing him was extravagant. The dying man put his arms around his former slave's neck and drew him down to him, holding him there a long time while his own life was ebbing away.

"The colored man said 'he was sorry to see a master who had always been kind to him die in that way,' but his face expressed no very great grief, and those who witnessed the scene were compelled to acknowledge that even in the breasts of the black race the love of liberty is stronger than friendship or love.

"But what makes this one case particularly curious is, that the colored man is reputed (by those who say they have good authority for so saying) to be not only a slave, but a very near relative of his young master."

THE KANSAS BLACK REGIMENT.—The following order attests the bravery of the negro soldiers of Kansas in the recent engagement:

HEADQUARTERS FIRST KANSAS C. V.,
CAMP JOHN A. ANDREW,
Nov. 7th, 1862.

GENERAL ORDERS No. 10.—The commanding officer desires to return his thanks to the officers and men of his command for the meritorious part they performed in the action at Island Mound on the 29th ult.

It is always pleasant to pass the customary gratulations upon the success of friends, and particularly so on this occasion of the triumphant success of our cause, *i. e.*, to show to the country that the heart of our colored men is fired with the same patriotic impulses, honorable ambition and martial courage that in all countries and in all ages have in peace animated the spirits of the industrial classes who have in war filled the ranks of armies with courageous, loyal soldiers.

While we rejoice at our success, we mourn the loss of our brave comrades, the heroic Capt. A. I. Crew, who, refusing to surrender though surrounded by our foes, died fighting to the last; and Corporal Joseph Talbot, privates Marion Barber, Samuel De[illegible]s, Henry Gash, Thomas Lane and Allen Rhodes, who died the death of heroes.

Your commander desires also to make honorable mention of the gallant conduct of Capts. R. G. Ward, A. J. Armstrong, Lieut. Joseph Gardner (wounded); privates Jacob Edmonds, L. Johnson, G. Dudley, Emanuel Dobson, Thomas Knight (wounded), and to 1st Sergeant J. Smithers, Company B; privates J. Carras, J. Scantling. —— Prince, and generally to all the officers and men of the command, he returns his warmest thanks.

By order of J. M. WILLIAMS,
Comd'g Reg't.

Lieut. B. HITCHCOCK, Act'g Adj't.

From The Tribune.

When government decided to organize and arm negro regiments, it had no longer any right to remember distinctions of color. The summons of the President to the blacks to fight under the national flag, pledges the national faith to its defenders. They can nevermore be, in the eye of the government, slaves, or freedmen, or negroes. They are the soldiers of the Republic, and as such, entitled to the same rights and privileges as if they were white. At least they have a right to demand that the government shall fulfill its contract. It appears that this is not done; even that the contract into which the negro volunteers have been induced to enter is not ratified or completed by the authority which proposed it. The government empowered Gen. Lane to raise colored regiments in Kansas. The first regiment has already been organized, uniformed, armed, and sent on active service. It won a victory, fighting with desperate courage against heavy odds, at Island Mounds on the 27th of October. Yet this regiment has not been mustered into service, and has not been paid. It forms no part of the national army; its soldiers, it captured, have no claim to be treated as prisoners of war. They are irregular levies, and exposed even by the laws of war to the fate of guerillas taken in arms without authority. If any of them should be captured by the infuriated rebels, who have already suffered defeat at their hands, what must they expect? It is inhuman to expose them to such a risk. Let government either disband the negro regiments at once, or recognize them as soldiers, muster them into service, and then inflexibly insist that if captured they shall be regarded and treated in all respects as prisoners of war.

DIRECTORY OF THE HOSPITALS.

THE SANITARY COMMISSION have established an office of information in regard to patients in the Hospitals of the District of Columbia, and of Frederick City, Maryland. By a reference to books, which are corrected daily, an answer can, under ordinary circumstances, be given by return mail to the following questions;

1st. Is —— —— (giving name and regiment) at present in the hospitals of the District or of Frederick city?

2d. If so, what is his proper address?

3d. What is the name of the Surgeon or Chaplain of the hospital?

4th. If not in hospital at present, has he recently been in hospital?

5th. If so, did he die in hospital, and at what date?

6th. If recently discharged from hospital, was he discharged from service?

7th. If not, what were his orders on leaving?

The Commission is prepared also to furnish more specific information as to the condition of any patient

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD

A LULLABY.

Sleep, baby! Mother wakes;
Remembering the day without a sun
That took thy father; ah, my precious one!
Morn gives not what it takes.

Smile, baby! Mother weeps;
Waiting his coming who shall come no more.
Alas, not morn nor evening shall restore
What death so strangely keeps!

Nurse, baby! Mother's breast,
Throbbing with anguish while the white drops flow,—
Better 't were cold like his than heaving so
With sorrow's wild unrest.

Peace, baby! Mother's lips
Forget their gentle, old-time lullaby;
Yet weep not, child! too softly bright thine eye
To suffer grief's eclipse.

Ah, baby! Mother's cross
Grows heavier that its shadow falls on thee!
These child-tears! mournful harbingers they be
Of future grief and loss.

Nay, baby! Mother's song,
Too mournful grown, no more shall vex thine ear.
For thy sake, child, and his, far off, yet near,
Please God, I will be strong!

CAROLINE A. MASON.

LECTURE OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

On "The President and the Future of the Country,"

Delivered at Music Hall, Wednesday Evening, Nov. 19, being the opening Lecture of the Course instituted by the Mercantile Library Association.

Ladies and Gentlemen: There are two words on everybody's lips—the North, and the South. They used to have a simple meaning; the land toward the pole, and the land toward the sun. Of late, they have assumed a deeper significance; and I want to use them to-night to represent those two elements which, within the circle of the Constitution, for seventy years, have been struggling for preëminence, and which now, one of them still within that girdle, and one outside of it, are doing battle for the control of this continent. By the North, I mean the civilization of the nineteenth century. I mean that table-land of manhood up to which the race has struggled by the toil and battle of nineteen centuries. I mean, free tongues—free schools—types—ballot-boxes—the open Bible—equality before the law. By the South, I do not mean half a dozen rebellious States; I mean an element, whether in State street or in Richmond; whether in Albany or Mobile; an element that reminds us of ignorance, idleness; a society planted on a volcano, to whom agitation is ruin; a society that brands the Declaration of Independence a sham. I mean a mosaic of races based on despotism and supported by cruelty. I mean a society which brings back the days of "Bloody Mary" and the Inquisition, by burning men at the stake for their opinions. I mean a statute-book which makes it a crime to give the Bible to a fellow-being, and thrusts into a dungeon a matron who has taught a child to read. I mean a society which holds for its cardinal principle of faith, that one-third of the race is born booted and spurred, and the other two-thirds saddled for the first to ride. I mean a feudal system based upon skin, and anchored in the Carolinas. Two elements, making up the civil State. Ever since we had a country, the antagonism of these two elements has been recognized; sometimes welcomed, sometimes dreaded, but always acknowledged. [In proof of this position, Mr. Phillips quoted from Rufus King, James Madison, J. Q. Adams, President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, and several Southern papers.] Nothing out of the common course, therefore, if we find ourselves engaged in battle, the North and the South, representing two such systems.

I find great statesmanship, as usual, in an aristocracy like the South. They saw written on the dial the inevitable growth of freedom. Having tried the energy that existed in their own institutions, placed side by side with freedom, and found the doom pronounced against them, the South accepted battle as the last resort, and the only hope they had. The North had exhausted every method of compromise. Every pound of flesh had been exacted and given. Every lip, from the President to the pulpit, had been dragged in the service of the institution. All in vain. The laws of God which are stronger than the devices of men; freedom, which in every battle, equal or unequal, gains nothing but victories, had written her handwriting on the wall, and Carolina, in the very chair of the Executive, trembled before Massachusetts in opposition (applause). She takes arms for war. To the south of her is Mexico. A conglomeration of different races, weak, having just survived her effort to expel the Catholic poison that was circulating through all her veins. She thinks, "I will build up a separate empire; I will link myself, not with a strong race, of Saxon energy and enterprise, not with the children of Milton and Hampden, not with the sons of Hancock and Adams, not with the English language and Bible, which mean nothing but liberty; I will link myself with the South-western races, and build an empire that girdles the Gulf, and devote it to the perpetuation of slavery; and having done so, having divided the Union, I will tempt the North-west, whose interests lie with me, to secede from manufacturing, tariff New England, and bind her to my car by locality, geography, self-interest, self-evident sympathies; and then, having weakened the North and strengthened myself by an alliance with the South-west, I shall perpetuate my controlling influence on this continent." That is her programme. Let Mr. Lincoln perpetuate this war, and hand it down to his successors in anything like its present guise, and in the canvass that begins eighteen months hence, you will see a candidate on the other side the mountains, one plank in whose platform will be, that the West desert the East, and join her natural ally who holds the mouth of the Mississippi. If the Democratic politicians of Albany have their way, there is more danger of an alliance among twenty States, leaving New England out in the cold, than there is of an alliance among twenty States, leaving the Cotton States out of the Union. Understand me: I think we live in a generation which ought not to regard with dismay, but as our fathers did (according to Mr. Seward), with hope and favor, the ripening of this conflict of the two elements that underlie our State. We have to-day in our hands the strength, if we only have the will, to crush the viper which has given us the right, and hands us the weapon (applause).

This is my idea of the future that is before us. No compromise can ever bring us into safe and permanent relations again. This revolution was not produced by Calhoun or Garrison; it was produced by the seventy years which have produced Calhoun and Garrison. Rome was not destroyed by Cæsar; it was destroyed by the hundred years that wrought out a Cæsar; and to-day, the ripening of events, not the energy or the policy of men, places us where we are. The past is our lesson to judge of the future. If it were possible to take from us every tongue and to gag our children, the very soil upon which we live, the very necessity of New England, coining her granite and ice into bread, would make her a dangerous neighbor for the aristocracy of the Carolinas (applause). The South does not wish for compromise. She spurns Horatio Seymour. She despises the Democrat who crawls at her feet (applause). She knows, with the instinctive sagacity which danger confers, that her only policy to-day is to correct the mistake of 1787, to ally herself with inferior races for breadth of base, and then by temptation to draw from the North what she can. You might as well try to tempt the devil back to heaven as South Carolina into the neighborhood of New England (laughter and applause). This being so, there is no remedy left, except in the North's lifting the gauntlet which the South throws down to her.

Mr. Phillips said he held to the right of revolution, which is a most valuable and sacred right, and one which he hoped and believed was to regenerate the world. He would see the Union go to ten thousand pieces before he, for one, would deny that right. But the question was, how far the North had rightfully exercised that right? This is not, said Mr. P., a partnership, but a government. When the farmer sold out his hundred acres in Essex County, and went to Illinois, and gave the United States government a dollar and a quarter an acre, what did he buy? Did he buy an acre shut up in the rivers and lakes of Illinois? Nothing of the kind. He bought an acre that had New England for its counting-house and the Mississippi for its highway. He took a deed which pledged to him Massachusetts as his work-shop, and the Gulf of Mexico as the link that bound him to Europe. He bought it on the faith of the government, and that faith is to be kept. That is my first consideration, why I have a right to defend the Union. Secondly, and still more strongly, when this Union was made, there were seven or eight hundred thousand slaves in the Southern States. Our fathers said, "Let them be voters!" The South said, "No!" We made a compromise; you recollect it. The South said, "Admit us under the sunlight of freedom, and that dark spot will wear away by its influence." The negro lifted up his arms and said—"Sons of the Pilgrims! trust God and do me justice!" And the fathers, with averted faces, said, "Wait! we dare not trust God! Wait until the long weariness of a seven years' war is over, until the Union, grown strong and rich, is able to be just." And the slave sat down in his chains and waited. The South, in 1787, agreed to abide the issue, but, defeated at the ballot-box, she flung it down and took up the bullet. The North said—"Grant it; we will try that." It is a fair play, an honest game. Beaten, Massachusetts was to be a whipped hound; her system was to be second-rate; slavery was to sit in the chair and dictate the terms; she was to have bulwarks enough to keep her safe. Very well; the battle has gone against her, and what is to be the result? The North is to march down with her institutions, and wipe out Carolina (applause). My method is to replant the South. You can only abolish slavery in the Carolinas by planting them with freedom. That is the method which I think it is the right and duty of the nation to adopt. I trust the President (loud applause). How much there is in him, let every man judge. I believe there is everything in him that is possible in a man born in a slave State. But I trust the President for all that. He is the only instrument we have got. Step from his platform, and there is anarchy. The worst state that ever existed is better than that; the worst king that ever existed is more hopeful than Cromwell dispersing Parliament. I am not going to criticize the President. I believe that to-day he has turned the corner, and recognizes the fact, not simply that the slaves of rebels, but that *slaves* must be freed (applause). How shall that proclamation be carried out? Well, Burnside is advancing to Richmond—God bless him! (Enthusiastic plaudits.) We have got him and Hooker at the front (renewed applause)—men who, if defeated, will rise stronger from defeat; and if victorious, will not go to sleep on the field of victory (great applause). In the field of battle, I doubt not, we are to be swift, stern, successful; but that is not victory. You can conquer the South, not by cannon, but by carrying Northern civilization there. We have got, in the neighborhood of Fortress Monroe, two Counties, totally under our guns. Let government confiscate those Counties, break them up into farms of one hundred acres, and sell those farms to the sons of Vermont and New York, with a deed from the Union guaranteeing the title, and guaranteeing compensation if the owner be evicted, and you have commenced a State. The Virginia that was, the Virginia of Lee, that could not admit a peasantry except in chains, the Virginia of Mason, with his haughty, imperious insolence, is gone, and the germ of a Virginia that borrows its character and future from Plymouth Rock is commenced. Then, again, further South, I would take Generals Hunter and Butler, and put ten thousand armed negroes with the Stars and Stripes over them, and the Union uniform on, into Alabama, Mississippi and Georgia, not to fight—though I believe they will fight—but to proclaim the proclamation. One hundred, two hundred thousand will gather around them, and the deserted plantations will call home the white soldiers from Virginia to take care of them. In order to this, I want to remove the snag at Washington. The President, I said, I believe in; I do not believe in his Cabinet. We are not obliged to take anything more than a Kentucky-born President upon our shoulders. There stands at his right hand to-day the man responsible for the last four months of the Administration of Buchanan. There stands at his right hand a Secretary of State who gave the broad seal of the Union to a traitor who had betrayed the secrets of the Cabinet to Carolina when she was marshalling round Fort Sumter, and sent him to Portugal. There stands at his right hand a man who never yet, since that first cannon was fired, has lisped any other word than *compromise*. I do not believe in Seward (applause). I want that Cabinet eviscerated. Leave as many of them as you please. I care not which you turn out, only put in one man with a will and a head like Thaddeus Stevens or Ben Wade, and he will drag the Cabinet to his own purpose. We are battling for ourselves and our children. I saw a thousand men march through our streets toward Washington to-day. Every man left one aching heart, one empty home. There are fifty thousand such marshalled in this terrible struggle for the great future of the country. We have a right to claim of those who hold the helm of the vessel of State that they shall either proclaim frankly, fully, unreservedly, their entire concurrence in the whole policy of the President, or abdicate their positions of influence, and give place to those who do (applause). I care not what theory you take—whether the President's, Mr. Sumner's, or Judge Conway's. What I want is, that the seed of that civilization which has made New England what she is planted in the South. I agree that Hooker is a good soldier and Burnside means well, and the fifty regiments of Massachusetts will do gallant service; but I would far rather have a sewing-machine, a free school and a Bible in Virginia than fifty regiments. The slave States are vacant. I care not how they became so. We plant them, as we do the great West beyond the Rocky Mountains, and we plant them with schools and churches, with primers and sewing-machines, with the brains and hands of Yankee civilization; and our bulwarks are not Fort Moultrie nor Sumter, are not rifled cannon nor iron-clads; they are New England, taking possession of her own broad territory, which belongs to her by right of conquest—not of cannon, but of civilization. In order to that, I want not only the President, but a Cabinet around him that means just the same. I do not want Mr. Seward (applause). I do not say he is a traitor; I do not say that McClellan is a traitor. I do not care for the motives of one single man in the twenty millions that make up our population. Hearts are nothing to us, conduct is everything. Whether George B. McClellan were a traitor or not, there is not a traitor in Jefferson Davis's Cabinet who could have acted better for the service of the South than he. Whether William H. Seward means honestly by the North or not, we need not determine. We are not here to blame him. He is what his father and mother, and school, and the influence of sixty years have made him—a good tool for some purposes, but not fit for us now (applause). A good man to make "irrepressible" speeches, but not, when cannon are sounding, and States grappling at each other's throats, and the great elements of society crashing and jostling against each other like frigates in a storm—not the man to see the blue heavens beyond, and put a firm hand on the helm and guide the ship of state safely to port. Massachusetts has a right to be heard. Through this gubernatorial election she has passed with all her flags flying and all her principles avowed. There was nothing to encourage her. The Administration had had one long, gloomy, disastrous night of inaction. I am more surprised that Massachusetts stood in loyalty to that Administration than that New York deserted it. You might have supposed that half-educated New York would shrink from that intense faith which Massachusetts exhibited; but, led up to the blank granite wall, with the President and McClellan before her, and no eye to see anything, she trusted the inherent omnipotence of liberty, and said, "This struggle means liberty, and God is pledged to its success!" (Loud applause.) That Massachusetts, I say, has a right to be heard. If the Administration leans upon anything to-day, it leans upon Massachusetts. Let me, therefore, close by claiming of the President three things—a Cabinet, a General, and a Confiscation that shall open the Southern States to a Yankee civilization, and give the loyalists of the South an opportunity to cooperate with us (loud applause).

At the conclusion of Mr. Phillips's lecture, which occupied an hour and a half, Mr. Sumner was loudly called for, who came forward and said a few words, urging upon all present the duty of standing by the President. He has already, said Mr. Sumner, done much; I expect from him much more. This, at least, we have a right now to expect, and this, at least, we must solemnly insist upon—first, that he shall push forward the army; and, secondly, that he shall push forward the proclamation (applause).

The Old Connecticut Prison.—This place is still visited by hundreds, because its ruins and caverns have a close connection with the events of the revolution, and the early history of the State. The only special interest that attaches to it is because of the associations of the past. The entrance to the mine, once a Tory prison, and afterwards a State prison, is by a ladder, down a shaft thirty or forty feet, from which avenues nearly horizontal, extend in almost every direction for hundreds of feet. These avenues, often eight or ten feet in width and height, sometimes more, sometimes less, are excavations made in the solid rock in taking out the copper ore. Such is the prison which began to be used a little previous to 1776, for the safe keeping of thieves and burglars. These desperadoes soon had the pleasure of enjoying the society of some of the more dangerous Tories, who were equally offensive to our revolutionary fathers, and were deemed far more safe beneath the earth's surface than above.

The damp, chilling air, the wet, slippery pavements of rugged, solid rock, the impenetrable darkness, the hollow, echoing murmur of voices in the various avenues, and the sound of dripping water must have reminded the inmates of the abode of demons and lost spirits. Notwithstanding the apparent unwholesome aspect of this prison, it was said to be peculiarly favorable to health and longevity. This was supposed to be attributable to some medical quality in the mineral rock. This place became the established State prison in 1790. A stout wooden palisade, armed with spikes, was first built, enclosing about half an acre of ground around the entrance to the mine, and suitable buildings for workshops erected within. In 1802 a strong stone wall, about seventeen feet high, was erected in the place of the palisade; also a brick building within the enclosure for the use of the Warden and other prison officers. At night, the prisoners were, most of them, turned into the depths below, and suffered to be together, affording a fine opportunity to plan insurrections and escapes, which at times proved partially successful, and occasioned the loss of life. At first, and only for a short period, a portion of the convicts were employed in working the mines; but the use of tools so nicely adapted to digging out into daylight, was deemed dangerous in the hands of these desperadoes. Their work was afterwards making nails, shoes, barrels, waggons, job-work, farming, and work upon the tread-mill. In 1827 the noble structure was completed at Wethersfield, and the convicts transferred thither, leaving this direful abode tenantless.—*Zion's Herald.*

WORDS SPOKEN AT THE FUNERAL OF ROBERT F. DENYER.

BY O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

Sunday, October 19, 1862.

My Christian Friends: I have attended many funeral services, but never one with more solemn and tender interest than this. I have stood many times in the presence of death, but never once when round him so many holy associations clustered, so many pathetic feelings gathered, so many touching thoughts clung. Here is no father, no mother, no brother, no sister, no relative near or far, of high or of low degree. No man or woman has been drawn hither by the attachment of kindred or by the sense of duty to the departed. Yet how large the company! Of how many ages, of how many minds, of how many experiences composed! How hearty the respect! How genuine the sympathy! How sincere the regret! How pure the tribute of feeling to the memory of this little shattered piece of humanity!

Our little friend came to us out of the shadow. He was fatherless and motherless; more than an orphan, for not only were his father and mother dead, but none knew who or what they had been. He scarcely knew himself who and what they had been. His childhood, his home, his early youth, lay in deep dark shade. He had but spectral and fleeting memories of the past. A bit of drift-wood, a piece of sea-weed, torn from the ooze, he lay floating on the surface of life in this vast city, which, seeing the poor boy struggling helplessly with the tide, put out its strong, kind arm, and bore him to that stern shore so thickly strewn with shipwrecks—Randall's Island. There, for no fault, but that grievous one of being poor, small, lonely and forsaken, the lad lay several years, breathing such moral atmosphere as they breathe who live there. One by one his companions, bright, able-bodied, hopeful boys, were taken away by pitying citizens, to work on farms, in shops, in factories, at domestic service, but the little deformed boy was useless for such purposes, and was left behind. There was none to take him. Visitors came and went, and left him there alone.

At last he was seen and noticed by those kind eyes which have thrown their light of love into so many dark places, and have found so much goodness where others have found vileness only. He was brought away to a Christian home.

Our friends* took him in for pity's sake, being unwilling that the poor unfortunate should perish thus early and sadly, if they could help it. For humanity's sake, for Christ's sake, for God's sake, they took him in, and gave him a home in their home. Delicacy forbids my saying all I might of their kindness in so doing. But I must not say less than this: that they gave him a home as good as their own; they gave him freely all the comforts and privileges they enjoyed themselves, they treated him in every respect as their own son. More than that, they trusted to his constant companionship and influence their own only child, the light of their eyes, and the darling of their hearts. They never made him conscious of his deformity or mindful of his misfortune. They never opened, or asked him to open, the painful passages of his experience. They covered up, as well as they could, the barren and thorny spots in his life, and if he had ever regretted father or mother, that cause of regret they took away. Three happy years the boy passed in this house, receiving these benefits. Would you know whether he conferred any benefits in return? You must ask these friends, and doubtless they will tell you, as they have told me, that they have been more than repaid for the kindness they bestowed. In bearing the burdens of this unfortunate, invisible hands of Providence lifted off their own. It is always so; he that blesses is thrice blessed. By the services he rendered in the household, by his willingness to oblige, by his eagerness to be useful, by his patience, his cheerfulness, his affectionateness, his faithfulness, his delicacy, he endeared himself to his benefactors day by day; he even made them dependent on him, almost as truly as he was dependent on them; he became indispensable in his place, and his place was very near the centre of their social existence. Their pity of him in time changed to love for him. They received him for God's sake, they kept him for his own.

Nor would this seem strange, if you knew all that I know. Our little friend was not beautiful. There was no comeliness in him that he should be desired. He was cruelly deformed, a withered, stunted little creature; every line of his shape was crooked; every organ in his body seemed out of place. His face was pinched and brown, with wrinkles in it as of untimely suffering and sorrow. It was the face of an old man; but there was that within which did not correspond with this disagreeable and repulsive outside. The angels love to sing in stables. God is not careful or choice in selecting caskets for his jewels, and in this casket, so rude and unshapely, in this casket of lead he placed one of his sweetest spirits; a spirit very true and gentle, thoroughly self-respecting, and sensitive far beyond the common. The little humpback had the bearing of a natural gentleman; he possessed an unaffected dignity of character, a sense of what was due from himself to others, and from others to himself, which is rare in any class. I knew him much less than some others did, who may be present, outside of this household. But I can testify, from my personal observation, to his remarkable hunger for knowledge, to his great desire for an education, to his truly high ambition to become his own master, to his proud desire to acquire an independent position, and perform an independent service for the world. His sympathies were as true as they were quick. He was responsive to large and fine thoughts. He was drawn to the best people. I have watched him in his class at Sunday-School, the most earnest listener there, when the teacher touched any of the great principles of noble living or told a story of self-sacrifice. His eye flashed in an instant at the deed of wrong, and as instantly filled with tears at the tale of sorrow. He had a genuine fellow-feeling with the unfortunate; never forgetting amid his privileges that he was one of them, never being ashamed that he was one. In his comfortable and happy home, he remembered always most affectionately his companions at the Island. To one in particular, whom he had been drawn to by the fellowship of suffering, he would write letters and send pocket-money, and when the little fellow came to see him in the city, his joy was as real as if his visitor had been a gentleman's son. His morals were singularly pure, his tastes singularly refined, his manners delicate, his behavior simple and unobtrusive, his habits neat and decorous. There was a grace in him, such as we commonly associate with gentle blood.

Of the last hours of our little friend there is not much to be said. They were hours of great physical distress; but he passed through them with a patience which never gave way. The little breath he had, and it was very little, was spent in touching words of resignation, in expressions of gratitude, in utterances of tenderness, in kind wishes for his friends. He knew well that he was dying, but he had no more fear of it than of his sleep. Only for a moment came the natural feeling of his loneliness, and the wish to be remembered and missed. He did not know how his wish was answered.

Well, he is gone! At first thought it seems sad that he should have gone just when he did, life being so happy for him, there being at last a smile on his hard destiny. He might have had some years yet of enjoyment it seemed, not many, but a few; but it was not to be so. And shall we say it is not well as it is? In a very short time his life could have been no longer a happy one; shadows, deeper than those out of which he came, would have darkened about him. I try to think of him as a man twenty-five, twenty, even eighteen years old, and the thought of him thus is all made up of sadness. I think of him as coming to a man's sense of his deformity, and of the trial to which it would subject him. I think of him with a man's heart, but without a man's opportunity, or a man's career. I think of him as eager to learn, yet meeting, on the very threshold of knowledge, with physical and social disabilities which he could not remove; ambitious to excel, but condemned to fall behind the young and strong and beautiful; resolute to maintain his independence, but not allowed to stand in the same group with the favored of society; generous, loyal, confiding, but meeting no welcome from the world which worships grace and loveliness. We know how men and women regard the crooked, the distorted, the humpbacked. Imagine what the sensitive boy must have suffered from the cold looks and cold words, from the repugnance, the disgust, the derision that would have met him on all sides. Imagine the cruel disappointments, the bitter griefs, the biting humiliations, the glooms that would have come down on his soul. Think of him with his unfolding affections drawn out to objects which they could never hope to attain. Who would have given the humpback love for love? Answer that question; and think how much desolation and heart-break are in the answer. It was a tender hand that led him away before he could know all this depth of suffering.

We will not say, then, that his death was untimely. No death, perhaps, is untimely, if we knew all. Some lives are longer, some shorter, but all lives end at the hour, not before. Some spirits light upon the planet only to spring away again. Some stay a few months, some a few years—some wait to learn the earliest lessons in the alphabet of Providence—others must go into the high mysteries of Experience, and spend a generation or two in care, duty, toil, sorrow. We come into the world, each one of us, with sealed orders, which the Angel of Death is commissioned to open, sooner or later, in the voyage of life. In this case we could guess what the orders were before they were unsealed, and we felt that they were merciful. Let us be thankful that he lived long enough to enjoy the last three years of his life—to have the privilege of this home—to see that the world is not all a wilderness—to hear voices of genuine tenderness addressing him—to know himself the object of a cordial respect and love—to feel that his humanity was recognized, his nature appreciated, his desires met—to live on equal terms with the best of his kind, and to die watched over, soothed, regretted by so many friends. The life was not short which brought what to him must have been a foretaste of the better life; nor was it too soon ended when it could have given him this foretaste no longer.

Nor let us say this poor little friend's life was wasted—that it was useless and accomplished nothing. Would to heaven that all men and women living their three-score years and ten could show so much work well done as he! Only to have exhibited so much patience and fidelity, so much purity and sweetness, in such a form, is much; to have proved what lilies can have their root in the slime; to have established the fact that one of the neglected and outcast ones may be adopted into a Christian home and make it more Christian than it was before, is a great deal; to have won the honest respect, and even the heartfelt love, of these friends; to have gained their entire confidence to the singular degree he did, is still more; to have made himself really important to them; to have twined in with theirs the thread of his life, so that the untwining of it caused them a pang; shall we say that is little or nothing? Many, in a long lifetime, accomplish much less. No, it was not a wasted life; it did its work; it has left its mark; a mark that will not soon be obliterated.

For the rest, we believe in Immortality. Indeed, we believe in Life, and only in Life. We do not believe in Death. Death but opens the door into another chamber of the Father's mansion which Jesus spoke of—that mansion, which is wide as the infinite care—bright with the infinite Wisdom—home-like and happy with the infinite Love. This is but one of the lower and darker rooms of that heavenly home; how low and dark for the most part to him, we know. Our little brother has passed on to higher being. There is nothing in the angels that was not folded up in this childlike heart. Now is free to show what it was. The vail is taken from his face; the burden is lifted from his spirit.

He lives here, too, in association and memory. His form will be in these rooms yet for many a day—I am sure that, for many a day, it will be in these hearts; he will make a part of the household; he will bear a share in domestic thoughts and feelings—in family joys and sorrows. Going away, he carries his friends with him, and leaves himself behind.

Let us believe that he leaves behind his pain and weakness and infirmity, as he leaves the unhandsome flesh of his mortal body to moulder in the dust from which it came. Let us be thankful that we knew him; let us be grateful for the good he manifested and did; let us rejoice that the earthly tabernacle is dissolved in which he groaned, being burdened, and the Spirit, whose child he was, has taken away his vile body, and clothed him with a glorious body, such as befits the mind he revealed.

* John and Rosalie Hopper.

THE RESCUE OF JERRY.

["Jerry," arrested under the Fugitive Slave law, October 1st, 1852, on which day the County Agricultural Fair, and also an Anti-Slavery Convention were held at Syracuse, was on the same day rescued, and set at liberty by *the people.* It was an event not merely of local but of national importance, and will forever redound to the honor of the city and County. The following, from one who sometimes courts the favor of the Muses, is in commemoration of it.]

Beneath a bright October sun
Had come, from far and wide,
The free and hardy sons of toil,
Old Onondaga's pride.
The ploughman from the field was there,
The thresher from his floor;
Ceased for a time the hammer's stroke,
Closed was the smithy door.
From farm and factory, forge and field,
From valley and from hill,
Where speeds the plow, or plies the loom,
Or clacks the busy mill;
From where upon her many hills
She gives her rocky store,
Or where from sunken shaft beneath
Her briny treasures pour;
From busy mart, where thriving trade
Its generous profits yield,
And from her rural hearths and homes,
Whence labor drives afield,
Come up to-day, in peaceful show,
Strong for the True and Right,
The People in their majesty,
The People in their might.
Free labor holds her festival,
Where he is honored most
Who honors her in heart and hand,
Of all this mighty host.
Free labor holds her festival,
Her gala day has come,
And thanks from grateful hearts go up,
With songs of harvest home.
Abundance crowns a year of toil,
And Plenty, from her horn,
Has scattered wide her generous fruits,
Her wine, and oil, and corn.
But hark! what sound is that which breaks
Discordant on the ear?
Why peals the toesin bell to-day,
This day of all the year?
Can here, within this Northern land,
This land which Freedom gave,
Be found a dastard wretch so mean,
That he would hunt a slave?
Take on his soul the damning curse,
Unleash the yelping pack
Of blood-hounds snuffing human prey
To follow on the track?
Too true, alas! for see, in chains
A trembling captive stands,
The fetters on his swollen limbs,
The cords upon his hands!
Upon his face, in deepened lines,
Is written wan despair,
While heartfelt groans his heaving breast
Sends out upon the air.
The fear of Federal power prevails,
The shameful bribe has won,
The threat of Webster is fulfilled,
The cruel deed is done!
No! not yet done, not yet fulfilled,
Not yet the exultant yell
Peals through the vaulted arch of Heaven,
"The banner cry of Hell."
No hunting-ground for slaves is this,
And murmurs deep and loud
Denote the coming storm, which swells,
As swells the gathering crowd,
And as defiance marks each tone,
Stout hearts and hands unite
To help a brother in his need,
'Gainst Wrong to shield the Right.
The blood red hand of Power has lost
The terror it inspired,
The People—Liberty have crowned!
With freedom they are fired!
Till like the angry sea, whose waves
Break madly on the shore,
They dash against his prison walls,
Break down his prison door,
Strike off the fetters from his limbs,
The cords which bind his hands.
A MAN again—no more a *slave*—
The rescued Jerry stands.
Injustice for a while may flaunt,
Wrong seem to hold its sway,
But Right shall follow in their path,
As follows night the day.
God speed the Right! O haste the day
When everywhere shall run
The precepts of thy Truth and Love
The Gospel of thy Son;
When every man in every man
A brother he shall see,
And all shall in the Royal Law
Dwell as one family.
Then the bright Sun, upon a world
Which Jesus died to save,
"Shall rise upon no bondman,
And shall set upon no slave."

—*Syracuse Journal.*

A Prayer by Kossuth.—The following prayer was offered by Kossuth while kneeling amid the multitude, at the grave of the Maygar heroes who fell in the battle of Ranoylna, and was originally published in *The Opposition*, a journal of Pesth. We translate from the German:

Almighty Lord! God of the warriors of Arpad! Look down from Thy starry throne upon the imploring servant, from whose lips the prayer of millions ascends to Thy Heaven, praising the unsearchable power of Thine Omnipotence. O God, over me shines Thy sun, and beneath me repose the relics of my fallen heroic brethren; above my head the sky is blue, and under my feet the earth is dyed red with the holy blood of the children of our ancestors. Let the animating beams of Thy sun fall here, that flowers may spring up from the blood, so that these hulls of departed beings may not moulder unadorned. God of our fathers and God of the nations! hear and bless the voice of our warriors, and which the arm and the soul of brave nations thunder to break the iron hand of tyranny as it forges its chains. As a freeman I kneel on these fresh graves, by the remains of my brothers. By such a sacrifice as theirs Thy earth would be consecrated were it all stained with sin. O God! on this holy soil above these graves no race of slaves can live. O Father! Father of our fathers! Mighty over myriads! Almighty God of the heaven, the earth and the seas! From these bones springs a glory whose radiance is on the brow of my people. Hallow their dust with Thy grace, that the ashes of my fallen heroic brethren may rest in peace! Leave us not, great God of battles! In the holy name of the nations praised be Thy Omnipotence. Amen.

ROBERT DALE OWEN AND MATTIE GRIFFITH.

Few persons who are at all familiar with newspaper literature, are not familiar with the names that I have placed at the head of this article. Not because they have been associated together in any work whatever, but because each in his or her own way has made for himself or herself name and fame; and now I have put them side by side, simply because, for ten days, we have sat at the same table, and talked morn, noon and eve of the war, of slavery, of American affairs generally, and I have ventured to suppose that the readers of *The Leader* would be glad, for one meal at least, to be introduced to our party.

There at my right, at the head of the table, you see a venerable looking gentleman, with whiskers white as snow circling from the ears to the tip of the chin, a soft, blond, fair face; it is plain, very plain. The nose is large, the eyes deep set, yet very soft and of bluish grey, and the hair, which is more brown than the beard and thin, is drawn from the left side to the right, falls, smooth and soft, entirely over the head, leaving no baldness.

He is not either tall or short, neither fat nor lean, but a medium. His voice is pleasant, with the least bit of a Scotch tone, and he sits at table, or deals out the steak or lamb, with the easy air of a good father among his children. He is now in New York on business for the war from the State of Indiana, and is earnestly at work with his powerful pen, aiding and abetting the emancipation question, which he feels is the only safety for our beloved institutions. But what will astonish most people, as it did me, is to know that this man seems to feel the most entire faith in God, and that he is working out this great problem of human liberty in His own way, and it will succeed. Mr. Owen seems to be a universal philanthropist. He has a work to do for the Port Royal Mission; helps ladies to start juvenile schools, young authors to publish books; and, though a very quiet man at home, has seemingly a mountain of work on his hands, which he is pushing off with a great deal of system and force. He plays games with the children evenings in the parlor—chats as familiar as a brother with the ladies—receives the literati of the city, and discourses upon the affairs of the nation like a prophet.

If he was ever a Democrat of the Vallandigham school, he is not now. Heart and soul he is for liberty—for emancipation; but is ready to wait the appointed time of the President, and thinks that Abraham Lincoln will answer to the demands of the people by the first of January, 1863.

Mr. Owen was recently called to Washington. We all wait anxiously his return, hoping that he will bring good news of great joy from the Capital. He goes at the call of Gov. Morgan.

Opposite me, at Mr. Owen's right hand, sits Mattie Griffith, the little Kentucky poetess, once such a favorite of the Louisville *Journal* and the Missouri *Republican*, known now more generally in the free States as the Emancipator of her slaves, and the author of sundry books and tales on slavery, among them, "Autobiography of a Female Slave." Miss Griffith's parents died when she was quite young. She was nursed from her birth by a mulatto slave, loved her for her kindness, and grew up without any of that "natural instinct of antipathy" to the black people which we hear white people of the North prate about. Her sole wealth, descending from her father, was in slaves. She was petted and loved for her genius, which broke out very early in life. At twenty-one, in spite of all remonstrances from friends and relatives, she gave freedom to every one, and by that act left herself dependent upon her own untried energies for support.

Such an act of course rendered the South no place for her; she came North, and has realized in part the saying, "Cast thy bread on the waters, and after many days it will return to thee."

Lovable in herself, the friends of freedom everywhere gave her a warm and generous welcome. She is a student and author, has travelled in Europe, and returned without being spoiled. A pretty figure, dark brown hair, and eyes to match, a complexion of a chalky whiteness, but neither clear nor bilious. She is simple in her manners, artless, playful, impulsive, and as she sits sipping her tea before us, we would suppose her yet in her teens. We honor her for the work of humanity which she has done, and give her words of praise, because she has been true to herself; and being true to herself, is being true to man and to God.

"Do you unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," was to Mattie Griffith a living principle. Long may she live to enjoy the peace that comes of well-doing! Few young girls have ever been known in our slavery-bound country that have had moral force to do as she has done.

New York, Oct. 6, 1862. Frances D. Gage.

—*Cleveland Leader.*

THE DESOLATION OF VIRGINIA.

Falmouth, Va., Nov. 21.

The further we get into Virginia the more am I struck by the utter desolation of the country and the evident poverty of its inhabitants. One must—if from "Yankee" land—*see* the degradation of the inhabitants to comprehend it. Used to smiling and productive farms, cultivated with all the aids and appliances of modern agriculture; to thriving villages, where the mechanic arts flourish and give wealth and ease to the citizens; to the welcome church-spires that stand on every hill and in each valley, the neatly painted school-houses at every "four corners," this utter want of all the evidences of civilization is most striking and depressing.

Here are no well-cultivated farms—500 acres barely support a small family of the better class of whites; no school-houses at the corners, for education would elevate a class to whom the habits and customs of the aristocracy forbid the opportunities for improvement; none of the mechanical or elegant arts, for the households of the F. F. Vs. purchase, with bigotted blindness, all their elevating necessaries and enjoyments from the despised "mudsills" of the North.

Slave-breeding supplies (or has supplied) the purses of the upper classes, while their farms, deteriorating from year to year, have barely yielded them the commonest "hog and hominy" required for the home diet of the section. All books, all music, all wines, all luxuries of every sort, have been the product of a trade in souls—too frequently of a trade in the offspring of the trader. Now that all this is cut off, even the wealthier citizens, the aristocracy of the land, must revert to the original "hog and hominy" of the country, and leave luxuries to some dim, elysian future.

I have often wondered how the white trash live. They do not *work*, unless the planting of a little corn, the grazing of a horse, or mule, and cow, and the raising of a few hogs and poultry—who run nearly wild—may be called "work." Still they live, and they raise many tow-headed children who perpetuate the unwholesome stock. I have often, I say, wondered how they live. I have ascertained.

These poor whites—ignored by the aristocracy and despised by the blacks—exist on whiskey. In this wise: Scratching together a few dollars (eight or ten was sufficient in time of peace) they purchase a barrel or two of cheap whiskey. The negroes—always fond of liquor, and never honestly getting any excepting during "the holidays"—steal from their masters corn, wheat and chickens. These things they "trade" with the poor whites for drink. They will give two or three bushels of corn or wheat, a hog, half a dozen chickens, for a pint of poor liquor, and in this way the degraded white men that infest this country exist.

It is a terrible style of life; the natural result of slavery. With paid labor, and any sort of encouragement to others than landed proprietors, these men might be small farmers, mechanics, laborers of all sorts: honest men. Then Virginians would be independent of other people for their luxuries and refinements. But slavery blights all the land, prevents competition in trade, mechanics or agriculture, and puts a veto on improvement of every description.

They cling to it as a "patriarchal institution," as they cling to all other exploded and useless ideas. And while slavery continues to blight the land, even the return of peace will fail to place Virginia where she might be. Once the proudest of States, her clinging to a barbarous and wicked institution has brought her so low that *nothing* can now save her except an utter revolution in her economy, her institutions, her manners and customs. She needs the infusion of hardy Northern blood. She must be "Yankeeized," and, please God, she will be. Is there not land enough lying idle here that shall give farms and pleasant homes to an immigration equal to the whole of this great army of the Potomac?

When the day comes that witnesses the end of slavery in Virginia, we shall see the opening of a new and vigorous life, for which her great extent, the natural fertility of her soil, her varied surface and facilities for improvement, give ample scope. Till then she is, indeed, a desolate and ruined Commonwealth. God grant we may live to rejoice over her regeneration.—*Tribune.*

Consanguineous Marriages.—The dangers of consanguineous marriages, and their influence in multiplying deaf and dumb cases among children, is the subject of a paper presented to the Academy of Sciences at Paris by Mr. Boudin. It supplies matter for grave consideration. Taking the whole number of marriages in France, the consanguineous represent 2 per cent., while the proportion of deaf and dumb births at Lyons is at least 25 per cent.; at Paris, 28 per cent.; at Bordeaux, 30 per cent. The nearer the consanguinity of parents, the more does this proportion increase; and if we represent by 1 the danger of begetting a deaf and dumb child from an ordinary marriage, it would have to be represented by 18 in marriages between cousins german; by 37 in marriages between uncles and nieces; and by 70 in marriages between nephews and aunts. It will surprise some readers to hear the subject is one in which the